

‘An island story’?

Maritime heritage in Aotearoa/ New Zealand

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Abstract

This thesis explores the concept of heritage within the context of the maritime environment of Aotearoa/ New Zealand. Three case studies, The New Zealand National Maritime Museum in Auckland, TSS *Earnslaw* which operates on Lake Wakatipu from a base in Queenstown and the Port of Lyttelton, Canterbury, are used to investigate the relationship between the international literature of heritage and the expression of maritime heritage in Aotearoa/ New Zealand. The research is focussed through the investigation of the presentation, and management of maritime heritage. The relationship between the concept of heritage as a global phenomenon and its expression in relation to the maritime heritage of Aotearoa/ New Zealand is discussed using the information obtained through fieldwork. The themes of mobility and conflict are identified as significant in the explanation of the role played by maritime heritage in the interaction between society and its maritime past.

Notes

The title of this thesis is from ‘Landfall in Unknown Seas’ by Allen Curnow. It was written to commemorate the 300th anniversary of the Dutch explorer Abel Tasman’s arrival on the coast of the land he would name *Nieuw Zeeland* (Curnow, 1942; Orsman & Orsman, 1995)

To avoid confusion in the text the names of vessels will be rendered in italics and the names of books will be underlined.

The names of vessels will normally be given in full, including the abbreviated form of their classification and where this is known these will be included in the glossary.

Throughout this thesis maritime terminology has been explained in the text, except where this would be intrusive. For these terms see the glossary (page 122). For fuller explanations refer to the Oxford Companion to Ships & The Sea (Kemp, 1979), or the glossary in Crew Culture: New Zealand seafarers under sail and steam (Atkinson, 2001).

Unless otherwise attributed all the figures in this thesis are the work of the author

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In Memory of
John Teal
(1922-2006)

Chapter 1:

‘About the Unknown to be traversed’: An introduction

(Curnow, 1942)

1.1 Setting and previous approaches

This chapter, like the thesis as a whole, takes its title from Curnow’s (1942) poem in which he scrutinizes the concept of exploration and its effect on the identity of the archipelago now called both Aotearoa and New Zealand. These islands have since their discoveries, both Polynesian and European, been shaped by their distance from other major landmasses and human populations. The sea is the media which has over time, both isolated and connected Aotearoa/ New Zealand to the world. Curnow in the third section of his poem questions rhetorically the relevance of exploration in a world where all the physical land masses have already been located. He then rejects that premise and highlights the importance of continuing to explore the unknown. This thesis responds to that challenge and takes on the task of exploring the relationships between the people of Aotearoa/ New Zealand and maritime world around them which are expressed as heritage.

Maritime

As a nation New Zealand has an Exclusive Economic Zone which is the fourth largest in the world. Its area is approximately 15 times the land area of New Zealand. The sea has always been, and continues to be, of huge economic significance. The vast majority of the imports and exports from these shores are carried by sea (Trost, 2005). In addition, this area supports a globally significant fishing industry and potentially contains resources which are presently undiscovered (Luxton, 1999). Despite the vast maritime environment most interaction with this environment is concentrated in a narrow band within sight of land. The topography and vegetation cover of Aotearoa/ New Zealand caused a predominantly coastal settlement pattern with an extensive and dominant coastal transport network. This was only slowly replaced by rail, then road, as the major form of internal transport over the course of the first half of the twentieth century.

The New Zealand Oxford English Dictionary defines maritime as ‘connected with the sea or seafaring’ (Deverson, 2004). The etymology of the word reveals that maritime,

like marine has come into English usage from French and is based on the Latin *mari-*, *mare*, meaning the sea (Trumble & Stevenson, 2002). This implies that salinity is the determining factor in the classification of an activity or location as maritime. This definition is both too broad and too narrow to encompass the range of sites found by this research to be part of a maritime heritage.

The term maritime is used at its broadest in this thesis to group together the many different cultural interactions between people and the use of both oceanic and inland navigable bodies of water and their coasts. This definition offers an almost limitless scope. Here the focus is on those uses of the sea which revolve around vessels constructed in a European tradition and the facilities which support them.

As this thesis examines cultural interactions rather than natural processes the term maritime is adopted in preference to the term 'coastal'. This decision was made because in two literatures with which this thesis connects, there are established meanings of the term coastal. To label the study area of this thesis in this way would therefore be to invite confusion. In literature relating to shipping and its history, the term coastal refers to voyages between ports within the same country or continent (as opposed to blue water or deep sea voyages to international destinations). In geographic literature the term coastal is most readily associated with the study of the morphology and dynamics of coastal landforms. Thus the imprecise nature of the definition of maritime activity shares much with the nature of the coastal landscape which is defined by the physical process at work rather than a measured proximity of the sea itself. Despite the prospect of the possibility of considerable overlap between the study of cultural relationship of people and society to the navigable waterways which surround them and the study of the form and physical processes at work in those environments Woodroffe indicates that there has been little interaction between those working in these subject areas (2003).

Heritage

Heritage is at its most basic is an interaction with the past in which some aspects of that past are perceived to be of value and are therefore promoted by those who identify with them. The relationship is expressed therefore through the attachment of abstract value to material artefacts and cultural practices (Lowenthal, 1998).

In order to elucidate the values espoused as maritime heritage this thesis draws on a broad body of literature which has its origins in several disciplines including history, museology, sociology, folklore studies, and geography. These works range from the highly conceptual to popular works, pamphlets, and electronic resources. This thesis explores the main academic literature concerning heritage in order to assess its applicability and explanatory power in relationship to the observation and interpretation of sites in the landscape of Aotearoa/ New Zealand. Several key geographic works have been central to the development of this thesis. For although the majority of works on heritage which influenced this thesis are terrestrial in their focus (Shields, 1991; Crang, 1994; Lowenthal, 1998; Graham, Ashworth & Tunbridge, 2000; Harvey, 2001), there are a small number of geographic interactions with maritime topics which were particularly helpful (Atkinson, Cook, Nash & Laurier, 1997; Atkinson & Laurier, 1998; Atkinson, Cooke & Spooner, 2002; Howard & Pinder, 2003; Oakley, 2005).

Other authors, while not writing from the perspective of geography offer other useful insights into the understanding of heritage. Fowler (1992), Merriman (1996) and Edson (2004) provide key perspectives on heritage which enabled a deeper engagement with the case studies examined. The articles in Trapeznik's (2000) edited volume on what he terms public history, along with McLean (2001b), provide good insight into the processes by which heritage is managed in Aotearoa/ New Zealand.

Published works on the maritime past in New Zealand are usually popular in nature, for example; Captain's Log: New Zealand's Maritime History (McLean, 2001a), the companion volume to the television documentary of a similar but interestingly different name Captain's Log: Charting New Zealand's Maritime Heritage (Everton 2001); or Atkinson's (2001) Crew Culture: New Zealand seafarers under sail and steam. This latter work deliberately stops at the end of World War Two as Atkinson sees this as the point at which the New Zealand shipping industry starts to 'decline' to reach its present form (2001:vii). Atkinson (2001), McLean (2001b) and Arnold (1994) note that coastal shipping receives little mention in mainstream histories of New Zealand or in conceptual academic research. I have found little material to dispute this claim. Most published material focuses on the history of some specific aspect of maritime heritage and does little to further the examination of the

conceptualisation of heritage in a maritime setting. There is some attempt to critically analyse maritime heritage in the international literature, but much of this is from a practitioners view point such as Tanner's 'Satisfying the Paying Public: The effective Interpretation of Historic Ships and Boats' (1997).

1.2 The journey

Research aims

There is some evidence of an interest in New Zealand's maritime past which is expounded through the rhetoric of heritage. However there has been little specific critical analysis of the nature of this expressed heritage or the context in which it is located in the broader perception of New Zealand's past. This thesis will therefore focus on the examination of the creation and evolution of the concept of heritage in the context of New Zealand's maritime past. This thesis will attempt to engage with Merrinan's (1996) challenge to include more analysis, rather than description in the study of heritage.

This research was guided by the following broad question:

- What is the meaning of heritage in the context of maritime heritage in New Zealand?

This general approach was supplemented and expanded by the investigation of three more specific areas. These were framed in the questions:

- How is maritime heritage presented, what stories are told?
- How are objects and places which are viewed as part of a maritime heritage managed?
- What is the relationship between heritage as a global phenomenon and New Zealand's maritime heritage?

Through these questions the thesis scrutinizes the applicability of the theoretical discussion and management of heritage, usually analysed in a terrestrial focussed context, to the land/sea interface of the New Zealand's Maritime cultural environment.

This thesis does not investigate the development of maritime activities and their resultant structures. Rather it examines the parts of the systems and activities through which the population of Aotearoa/ New Zealand have interacted with bodies of water, which have been identified as being of cultural value to their society, and have been labelled as New Zealand's maritime heritage.

Themes

Preliminary research in the topic area revealed two key themes in the creation of the maritime past of Aotearoa/ New Zealand as heritage, which related well to broad geographic concepts. The first theme is the mobility of maritime heritage. Most studies analysing heritage focus exclusively on buildings and sites, while the consideration of smaller or mobile objects is often perceived to be the domain of museology (Aplin, 2002). There has been little study of the heritage of transport as a mobile expression of heritage. This is surprising as many artefacts which are presented as maritime heritage are inherently mobile, and have been located in and linked with many parts of the world. This theme also probes the multiple connections of artefacts to differing heritages and the impact of their location on the expression of those values.

Conflict, is a prominent topic in the literature of heritage. This second theme was examined as most maritime activity is concentrated at points along the coast where there is a suitable combination of shelter from the effects of wind and waves, and deep water close to land. The suitability of sites was further influenced, initially by the desirability of the location for settlement, and over time by the ability of that site to be adapted to meet changing patterns of settlement and shipping. Where present uses and the remnants of previous uses of a site are viewed as heritage, any proposals to redevelop or change the function of that site creates conflict between those who value the site in its current form and those who have control over the site and wish to modify it.

Case studies

Three case studies were selected to analyse the relationships between the discussion of heritage, in particular the themes identified above, in the international literature and

the practices in existence in the maritime landscape of Aotearoa/ New Zealand. The locations of these are shown in Figure 1.1.

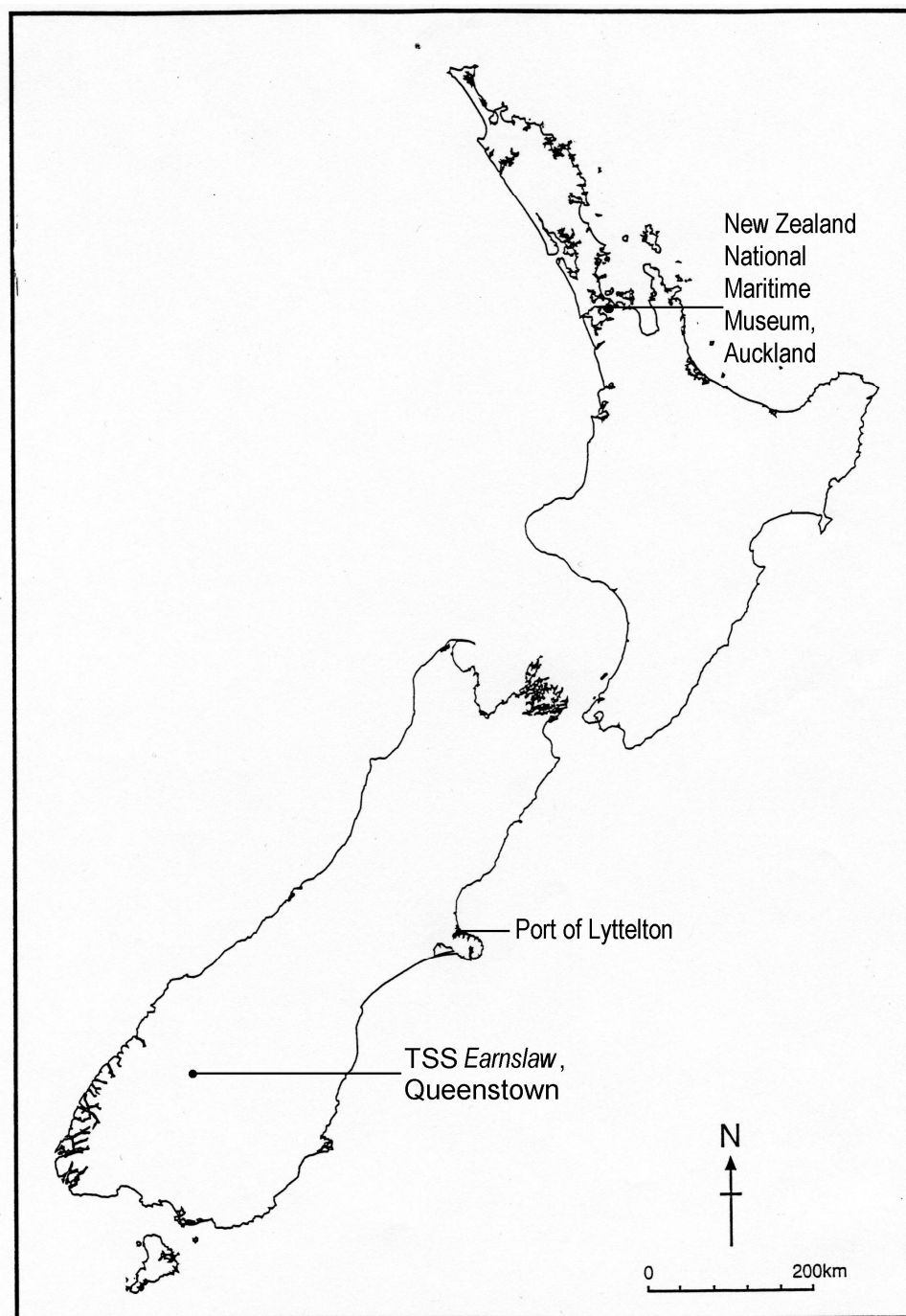


Figure 1.1: Map showing the location of case studies.

The New Zealand National Maritime Museum in central Auckland was chosen as it gathers material from a wide spatial scale to tell a national story. This collection and repository is used in relationship to the discussion of the mobility of heritage, but is also relevant in other areas of investigation.

As this thesis examines the definition and context of maritime heritage the operation of the TSS *Earnslaw*, an early twentieth century steamship, on Lake Wakatipu is included. This case study is used to aid in the definition of maritime heritage and to examine the conflict which can result from the operation of obsolete technology as heritage.

The Port of Lyttelton is explored to elucidate the relationships which develop between the operation of a commercial port and sites, artefacts and practices which are regarded as maritime heritage. This case study is used to contribute to the analysis of both the mobility of maritime heritage and the conflict which exists in its management.

1.3 Stem to stern

The review of the literature on which the research for this thesis draws is contained in Chapters 2 and 3. Chapter 2 reviews the international body of literature on the concept of heritage. Works on the relationship of heritage to the past, the ownership of and relationships with heritage, are analysed. The concepts preservation, restoration, and conservation are explored. The similarities and differences between history and heritage form the basis on which the geographical engagement with the subject area is considered. The concluding comments on the role of heritage in society sets the scene for the deeper exploration of the more specific area of the literature on maritime heritage in Aotearoa/ New Zealand to be unfolded.

The literature relating to maritime heritage is multi-disciplinary. Chapter 3 opens by examining the varying approaches to the maritime past. The second part of the chapter deals with the legislative and administrative framework in which maritime heritage is managed in Aotearoa/ New Zealand. These themes are then woven together in a review of the literature studying heritage of this country.

Chapter 4 defines the scope of the research and considers the position of the author both within the maritime world and within its study. This chapter elucidates the methodology which was employed in the course of the research. The balance between

and the interplay of the literature and fieldwork carried out on the case studies of the New Zealand National Maritime Museum in Auckland, the TSS *Earnslaw* in Queenstown and the Port of Lyttelton is discussed.

The nature of maritime heritage and its location, both physically and in relation to society in Aotearoa/ New Zealand, is considered in Chapter 5 through the consideration of the information obtained during the fieldwork carried out for this thesis in the light of the body of research on heritage in other contexts. The mobility and place attachment of maritime heritage is analysed through the examination of a group of vessels once owned by the Lyttelton Harbour Board and of the collections and operation of the New Zealand National Maritime Museum.

As conflict forms a central theme in the creation and existence of heritage its expression in relation to maritime heritage in Aotearoa/ New Zealand is tested in Chapter 6. The relationship between heritage and the operation of a commercially operated port is scrutinized in the Port of Lyttelton. The conflict resulting from differing perspectives on, and regulation of, the expression of maritime heritage is investigated in relation to the operation of coal fired vessels by the New Zealand National Maritime Museum in central Auckland and Real Journeys on Lake Wakatipu.

The themes and approaches of this thesis are drawn together and examined in order to draw conclusions from them in the final chapter. The conclusion of this thesis includes a reflection on the nature of heritage, the aims of the thesis are revisited and suggestions for further research are made. The thesis now turns to examine the literature on which its analysis is based in more detail.

Chapter 2: Heritage as a Concept

2.1 Introduction

This Chapter explores the conceptual discussions about heritage being played out in the academic literature. Specifically it examines the use of heritage as a means of interacting with the past; the possessive nature of heritage and its role in the formation of identity; and the potential for the retention of physical objects and practises to become conflicted. The relationship between the concepts of history and heritage; and the geographical approaches to heritage are examined. The chapter concludes by drawing together these key themes in readiness for examination of the concept in a specifically maritime context and in the light of research specifically on Aotearoa/New Zealand.

2.2 Heritage as a way of approaching the past

The past is a term which is often employed in the literature in order to circle around the question of the relationship of heritage to both the term and discipline of history. The complex relationship between these two concepts will be explored further in a later section. At this point it is helpful to investigate what is meant by the use of the term ‘the past’ in this more theoretical context when the word is used to refer to things which occurred before the present.

Merriman (1996: 178) describes heritage as the way in which the past has been shaped to give meaning to people’s lives and by Edson (2004: 341) as the way in which people orientate themselves in relation to the past.

Molyneaux (1994: 2) helpfully differentiates the past into two parts:

‘the temporal one that passes and is gone and the metaphorical ‘past’ that is held in the memories and traditions of a society and its surroundings. It is this diverse and ever-changing past, part of the multifarious world of ideas and personal and collective agendas of a society, that we encounter in our daily lives and through which we must work.’

This division of time into the temporal and the conceptual has also been applied to objects through Edson’s interpretation of The Aristotelian Thesis, which holds that objects have both ‘essential and accidental qualities’. Those parts which remain

constant can be labelled essential while those attributes which are responsive to the society which surrounds them can be termed accidental (Edson, 2004: 340). It is the interplay of the essential and accidental characteristics of an object and its relationship to society which lead to it being labelled as possessing 'heritage value'.

Heritage: value or object?

In academic discourse heritage is frequently discussed in the abstract, however, in general usage the term is usually related strongly to physical objects and cultural practices. These are viewed as being the embodiment of the abstract concept (Molyneaux, 1994).

Merriman (1996: 381-2) asserts that heritage exists on two levels; the physical or 'empirical', that is, the objects which are part of a material culture; and the 'transcendental level' where heritage exists as a construct in the mind through which memories, both experience and received, are applied to physical objects and practises to give them meaning. This is representative of the popular discourse of heritage which places the physical object at the centre of heritage. Merriman ignores the value laden nature of heritage, identified by Hardy (1988), whereby an object is created as heritage only by those who view it as such. If the item is not perceived as heritage it is simply a relic from the past (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996).

Marxist theory is also employed by Edson (2004) to explain the nature of heritage. The existence of objects is through two forms, the physical form and the value form. This appears similar to Merriman's ideas in that it divides heritage into two components. However Edson recognises that the physical form is not that which forms heritage, it is the application of the value form to the physical form which leads to the object being perceived to be of heritage value. The interconnectedness of physical objects and heritage as a value is rarely appreciated by the public, for they tend to view them as one and the same thing. This theme is explored further in the discussion of the nomenclature of heritage used in New Zealand in Chapter 3.

The physical object therefore becomes the form in which the concept of heritage is recognised. The worth attributed to an object as an expression of a group's heritage may be less related to the 'intrinsic merit' of the object as defined by aesthetic or

architectural standards than to the ‘complex array of contemporary values, demands and even moralities.’ This can lead to one object being viewed as part of several different and, at times, conflicting heritages. The ability of heritage to be ‘sold’ and ‘consumed’ multiple times can lead to tension over the ownership and meaning of heritage and the right to present an interpretation of it (Graham *et al.*, 2000: 17, 23).

2.3 Ownership: heritage as a possession

Heritage is, at its core, a possessive relationship with the past. Heritage does not exist as a universal absolute (Lowenthal, 1998; Graham *et al.*, 2000). The claiming of an aspect of the past as belonging to a person or group is therefore the act of creating heritage. Fowler (1992) casts heritage as ‘interactive’; people do things to and with memories of the past. It is through engaging with the portions of the past which are of personal or corporate interest that people come to claim parts of the past as their heritage (Aplin, 2002).

Heritage is in itself used to promote ownership and membership. Clubs, companies, social networks, cultures and societies all create traditions which in time become a part of their heritage which, in turn, helps to form the identity that distinguishes them as a cohesive entity. Heritage ‘is most often a set of conditions adopted by a cultural grouping to meet the basic requirements of that group’. As needs change so does the portion of the shared past which is highlighted as central to that group’s heritage (Samuel, 1994; Edson, 2004: 336-9).

Selection from the past and the change in that which is selected over time is illustrated by Roker and Richardson’s (2003) examination of the relationship between young people and heritage. Their findings were that ‘traditional’ representations of heritage did not lead to young people identifying with heritage. However, they established that when the concept was framed in terms of identity and cultural ‘roots’ young people expressed that a strong connection to their past was very important to them. The ability to define for themselves what they valued as an individual in their own time was central to this, as opposed to acceptance of the aspects of the past deemed to be important to society by those in authority.

Part of the social process of becoming a part of any group is the identification with, and the adoption of, its heritage as part of personal identity. Because of human self esteem and perception of self importance, most groups within society are confident in their own assumptions that their heritage has an importance which transcends the members of the group and is projected onto a more global scale. Conversely groups can identify those who are the 'other' by showing that there is no or little shared heritage (Lowenthal, 1998: 239).

Where heritage is contested groups may try to establish dominance over that heritage through attempting to universalise their interpretation of its significance (Graham et al., 2000). Lowenthal (1998) discusses the use of heritage as a divisive force which can lead to xenophobia and ultimately war, where heritage is used to portray one group as inherently superior (or inferior) to another. The examination of the ownership of heritage is essential to the analysis of how it is interpreted and how it becomes part of a society's stories which groups tell about themselves and to others (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996).

Linked to the concept of ownership, which plays a part in the central question, 'whose heritage is it?', asked by Graham *et. al.* (2000), Lowenthal (1998), and Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) is the motivation for engagement with the past through heritage. Some authors, such as Graham *et. al.*, address the ownership of heritage at a national or regional scale with reference to some of the contestant groups which make up the society in that place. This motivation also identifies the ability to add substance to national identity by tracing it back into the 'mists of time'. This is a key element of the purpose of heritage at this scale. In the immigrant context of New Zealand through the tracing of ancestry, both individual and cultural, back to the point of arrival in these islands either by waka or ship, enables groups which maintain visible cultural links to their land of origin, to link further back into the mythology of that country.

Presentation of heritage

The heritage of groups is often presented in an institutional form this section examines the discussion of those institutions. Heritage institutions have been divided by some authors into two main streams; those institutions which operate on a commercial basis and those which operate for a variety of other reasons, including:

government policy such as the New Zealand Historic Places, altruistic endeavour such as the Lyttelton Historical Society Museum or in association with research, such as the transcription of ships' passenger lists by museums and libraries. These are very broad groups with considerable overlap. It is commercial motivation which is attacked most in the academic literature discussing heritage. Profit is in many cases assumed to be put ahead of the pursuit and presentation of historical accuracy. Lowenthal asserts that in some instances the use of the past for commercial advantage amounts to 'cultural prostitution' (1998:101) This conception of commercial heritage operators is characterised by Fowler (1992: 13):

'where motives are high, deep scholarship interplays with controlled imagination; but serious money-making can be involved too and that can shift priorities elsewhere, sometimes producing intellectual tawdriness and the physical sham.'

The perceived necessity of rejecting that which appears false and distorted in the presentation of heritage is understandable, as the use of evidence to support the story which is presented is a fundamental tenet of academic process. This emphasis on academic rigour, critical analysis and the perceived primacy of historical accuracy is potentially contradicted by calls to engage with the past in ways which sit outside the traditional scholarly framework. Fowler's (1992: 28) own comment that 'the popular past really is a foreign country with its own currency and not the 'history' controlled by academic historians and archaeologists' illustrates this conflict. Merriman (1996: 380) is critical of the way in which the literature on heritage often splits into camps which are either: 'heritage baiters' who attack the presentation of heritage and those who gloss over its shortcomings and accept the presentation of unquestioned nostalgia.

A more recent assessment of heritage gives the 'heritage phase' of an object's existence as the period in which the resource is transformed into a product for consumption in the market place (Malcolm-Davies, 2004). This echoes both the heritage literature, which discusses the way in which the experience of an object is repeatedly sold while the actual object is not, and the literature on the 'experience economy', where experiences are as marketable as the products which they surround (Pine & Gilmore, 1998). This aspect of today's economy was in its infancy when many earlier critical works on the interaction of commerce and heritage were written.

The transient and changeable nature of modern society is given as a key motivating factor, for engaging with heritage, at the personal level. Looking backward to, and attempting to preserve and identify with an apparently more stable past, is a reason why people become passionate about heritage. Questions about individual identity can be deflected by interest in group identity, about which Tuan (2003) suggests it is easier to feel pride. Heritage is also portrayed as fulfilling a need for support. The sense of being part of a longstanding tradition has been suggested as a way in which people replace the contemporary support networks extant in society in the past. (Lowenthal, 1998; Edson, 2004). While this view has considerable merit, it in itself, takes a nostalgic view of society. This perspective is supported by Holmes's (2003) work on the role of volunteers in the heritage sector which found that significant numbers of volunteers became involved in heritage activities such as museum guiding for social reasons. The past and the organisations which present it become ways of building social and support structures in the present.

Conflicting Motives

Graham *et al.* (2000: 7, 25) also analyse the motivation behind the presentation of heritage in less emotive terms. For them 'heritage is about the political and economic structures of the present using the past as a resource'. It follows from this definition that heritage is intrinsically linked to ideology. This work draws on two of its authors' earlier work (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996) to explain the conflict over the presentation of heritage as 'heritage dissonance', that is, a 'mismatch between heritage and people in space and time'. This mismatching is caused by the changes in the nature of a portion of a heritage, which neither echo nor parallel the changes in the values and needs of the societies and cultural groups who draw on that expression of heritage. The creation of dissonance can in some cases be attributed to the differences in perception of those who manage heritage, those who make use of heritage in support of their ideologies and identities, and those who consume heritage (Graham *et al.*, 2000).

2.4 Preservation, restoration, conservation

Given the strong links discussed above between heritage as a concept and its association with physical objects as well as the personal identification and ownership

of heritage it follows that there is a desire to see those objects, be they buildings or family photographs, retained.

Many definitions give heritage as that which is worth preserving. This makes heritage a fundamentally contested concept, in which judgements on the value of an object by different groups or individuals can result in conclusions which contradict each other. Because of the personal nature of heritage the definition of that which is worth retaining is not straightforward. This is further complicated by the costs (both direct and opportunity costs) associated with retaining old structures, both tangible and intangible (Graham et al., 2000). When there is an attempt to alter or destroy an object which is viewed as heritage by people who do not own it (in the legal sense of the word), there are usually calls to preserve the object 'for its heritage values' or 'historic significance'. The statements of value are often framed in universal terms, for the reasons discussed in the section on ownership above.

The term preservation is an emotive one often invoked when there is a suggested change to some part of a group or person's heritage. Change is cast as a threat or enemy which must be defeated (Lowenthal, 1998). Preservation is often a reactionary response. It seeks to halt time and hold an object or custom in a timeless state at a particular period (Graham et al., 2000). The desire to preserve is often accompanied by the process of restoration. This is another process which can be used to attempt to hold an object in a timeless state, as it is believed to have appeared or functioned at a time in the past. Restoration is 'theoretically impossible' because nothing can be exactly as it was. In some cases restoration is a process by which artefacts are altered to be as they 'ought' to have looked according to the sensibilities of those carrying out the restoration (Lowenthal, 1998: 152). Each restoration becomes another part of an object's story, which from a museological perspective progressively degrades the physical authenticity of an object (Fowler, 1992). However from the perspective of heritage each change can be seen as adding to its heritage value as an artefact is reassessed and treated accordingly over time (Worsley, 2004). The concept of authenticity will be discussed in a specifically maritime context in Chapter 5.

Conservation, a term usually associated with flora and fauna, is seen by Fowler (1992) as a more positive process as it does not attempt to stop or ignore time but to manage actual and potential forces of change.¹

As discussed at the beginning of this section, heritage is an activity with both economic costs and benefits (Graham et al., 2000). The costs of heritage are usually associated with the retention of artefacts which would be destroyed or altered if there was no intervention by those who publicly proclaim that the artefact is ‘of significance’. The question of whom any artefact may be significant to is discussed in the section on ownership above. The costs associated with of the retention of an artefact are often borne by heritage preservation societies or local government. The economic benefits of heritage are in the main from visitors who visit a site or region because of the artefacts located there. Those who bear the costs of heritage are often thus not the same as those who reap the monetary rewards.

Graham *et. al.* (2000: 131) identify a paradoxical relationship between heritage and its economic impact; ‘namely that economic motives were of secondary importance in the creation of heritage and of primary importance in its maintenance’. This creates a conflict in relation to the valuation of heritage. This issue has been explored by Hooper, Kearins, & Green (2005) in relation to the legislative expectation that museums in New Zealand include a monetary valuation of their collections as part of their annual accounts. The result is a dual practice where those museums which are administered directly by central government carry out this exercise, while those, mainly regional museums which have independent trust boards have refused. Their argument is that the value of their collections is in their cultural rather than their economic worth.

A difference in the relative importance attached to economic opportunities and to cultural values is often cited as a difference between heritage and history. However economics do not fully explain the relationship between these two concepts. This relationship is explored in the following section.

¹ Salmond (2000) notes that there is little uniformity of terminology used in this field. His examination of the terminology of heritage identifies the same two approaches as this thesis, but labels what is termed preservation here conservation and vice versa.

2.5 Relationship of History and Heritage

At a basic level the relationship of heritage and history is a simple one. Objects which are perceived to be antique, that is beyond merely being old and outdated, often command respect within society (Graham et al., 2000). Society also has a desire for precedence; the ability to claim the oldest or longest heritage (Lowenthal, 1998). However beyond this, the relationship becomes contested for when the motivations and desired outcomes of history and heritage are examined clear differences emerge.

When history and heritage are contrasted, it is frequently to show heritage as a debased or fraudulent exploitation of the past. One example which takes this to the extreme is McManamon and Hatton's *Cultural resource management in contemporary society: perspectives on managing and presenting the past*. The editors of this volume make great efforts to justify the use of the term 'Cultural Resource Management' and to distance themselves from the term heritage which they consider to consist of 'careless' reconstructions and accounts of history (MacManamon & Hatton, 2000). This makes the assumption long dismissed by the discipline of history of the existence of one 'true' and objective history (Lowenthal, 1998; Harvey, 2001). Most academic historians have incorporated elements of post modern approaches into their research, and acknowledge that the interpretation of information about the past is an integral part of historical study.

History is commonly accepted in academic discussion as an interpretation of 'the past for the purposes of the present with a view to managing the future' (Gaddis, 2002: 10). Despite this, history is usually constructed with the intention that it will appear, to its audience, unaffected by the concerns and influences of the present. Gaddis (2002: 210) states that 'the term "presentism" among historians is no compliment.' He asserts that historians cannot work on the events which surround them but must have the benefit of distance to see events in a wider context (2002). The distance achieved by history contrasts with the attempts at immediacy, the perception that the past can be re-lived or experienced as it was for those who were there, which characterise much of the presentation of heritage (see below for discussion of the experience of heritage).

Harvey (2001) casts heritage as the successor to orally transmitted stories and traditional knowledge rather than as a divergence from the mainstream of scholarly history. He situates heritage in the same realm of study as folklore, which Sims and Stephens (2005: 6) define as that part of our culture which is ‘informally learned and unofficial, part of everyday experience’. This link is supported by Edson (2004) who discusses the way in which myth and heritage become interlinked. Samuel (1994) makes a case for the attention of academic historians to be turned outwards to examine the conceptualisations held within the ‘popular memory’.

Edson (2004: 338) also provides insight into factors which distinguish heritage from history: ‘the idea of heritage has greater symbolic meaning than the object, time or place, that is, the historical reference’. This portrays history as the simple recording of past events and ignores the substantial contribution made by historians to the understanding of heritage and, more broadly, of interpreting events in the light of the context in which they took place. It is the symbolism invoked by heritage which stimulates a response which leads to identification with the past and a sense of ownership which is formed into a personal or cultural heritage (Edson, 2004). Heritage is an ‘intensified’ version of the past as ‘boredom is taboo’. In this process of distilling the past to extract what is deemed to be interesting, the chronological order of history is often placed in a subservient role to the story being told, resulting in a generalised impression of ‘the olden days’ or ‘the good old days’ which cannot be placed in a specific context (Lowenthal, 1998: 97-8, 137-8). While Graham *et. al.* (2000) take this line of reasoning a step further and say that heritage is not necessarily about being historically accurate, they do not do so in the same way as MacManamon & Hatton (as discussed previously). Graham *et. al.* see this as a difference of function rather than as a failing of heritage. In the same way Lowenthal emphasises that heritage is about feeling and experience rather than about fact (Lowenthal, 1998). The ability of heritage to present a selective account of the past, often with a utopian viewpoint, for the purposes of the present is explanatory of much of the motivation behind the portrayal of heritage (Graham *et al.*, 2000).

Authors examining the concept of heritage tend to oversimplify the role of history, emphasising the chronicling of events and facts and downplaying the importance of

interpretation, both on the part of the writer and the reader. This biased representation highlights the participative and experiential aspects of heritage.

Experience of Heritage

The forming of a personal relationship with the past by claiming of it as heritage can lead to the desire to move beyond exploring the physical artefacts and practises to experience the past as it was for those whose lives are being explored. This can be attempted through a range of activities presented by re-enactment societies, resulting in a perception of a more personal understanding of what it would have been like to have lived within the cultural as well as technological bounds of that time and place. Samuel (1994) for example suggests that practical attempts to investigate clothing and technology from the past can be as important as the theoretical exploration of structures of government and other topics more recognisable to academic historians.

The exercise of entering or understanding the mindset and attitudes of people in the past, even a person's own ancestors is said to be impossible, as every person exists within the present (Fowler, 1992; Lowenthal, 1998). Heritage is encountered as an experience outside contemporary society and heritage objects and experiences are viewed by their very nature as being something different. Objects are even transformed by being on display (Edson, 2004). Lowenthal (1998) uses the analogy of a shovel; once it is placed in a museum or display it becomes an artefact which was used by someone else in another context. The same can be said for a ship, tramway, printing press or copper which, although functioning physically in the same way, are operating in a modern context. Fowler (1992) gives a further example; the practise of 'Ye-olde-ing' landscapes does not transport the users of that landscape into the past, the landscape remains in the present. This is even, or especially, the case when portrayed by people in period costume. The landscape thus becomes a playground (Merriman, 1996). People may act in roles outside their present day lives but they cannot set outside their own intellect which operates solely on present day motivations.

Popular examples of this can be seen in television programmes such as Pioneer House (1999) and Colonial House (2002). Although families are living in a setting where they are physically using past technology, their experience is one of contrast. This

contrast is also presented in attractions such as the Ferrymead Heritage Park (Christchurch) and Shantytown (Greymouth). These parks rely on the contrast between the present and the past they present. If there was no contrast there would be no reason to visit. Heritage in this context operates in a realm where the interaction must feel authentic at the same time as the person experiencing it realises that it is a re-creation, an experience which has been created using modern means (Edson, 2004: 337).

Within the literature of heritage there is also discussion of the interaction of tourists and local peoples. It has been found that differing heritages can be experienced within the same place. Conflicts have the potential to arise between these groups as the heritages each group wishes to present often originate from very different motives (Graham et al., 2000). Although their discussion of conflict is often focussed on places of religious significance, some of the basic themes of local and visitor interaction with heritage are relevant to the discussion of maritime heritage.

Heritage's Heritage

The academic study of heritage evolved in response to the perception that in the last quarter of the twentieth century there was a marked increase in the use of the past as a marketable commodity. Prior to the nineteenth century it is asserted that there was little call to preserve buildings (Lowenthal, 1998), except in the case of significant religious sites (Graham *et. al.*, 2000). Harvey (2001) argues however that interaction with the past which is now termed heritage can be identified in the explanatory tales found in popular oral cultures and in didactic art in the Middle Ages. He also contends that the examples of the work of William Morris and John Ruskin along with the creation of Britain's Ancient Monuments Act (1882) which are considered revolutionary by other authors are situated within a longstanding attitude to the past. Waitt and McGuirk (1997) also point to The European Grand Tour as an example of (elite) interest in visiting sites from the past which were significant to them.

The critical study of heritage has often provided more criticism than critique. Lowenthal (1998) describes what he perceives as the development of a glut of heritage, which threatens to overwhelm creativity and the ability of society to move in new directions. He attributes this in part to the quickening pace at which objects and

practises become viewed as traditional or heritage (1998:16-17). Samuel (1994), through a case study examining the replacement of steam locomotives with diesel, explores the idea that the increasing pace of technological change has led to a desire to preserve that which is familiar. He extrapolates from this to draw conclusions about a broader interest in recent vernacular past. Tuan (2003) suggests that the importance of preserving cultural or traditional practises is emphasised more by those who observe it as tourists or academics than those who have traditionally practised them. This is more pronounced in relation to the use of traditional technology where the modern alternative often requires less effort and enables a higher standard of living, quality of product or return for labour expended. This expansion (or retention) of heritage is so routinely 'rated a good thing that few ask what it is good for' (Lowenthal, 1998: 94).

Criticism of heritage is also based around the view that heritage is backward looking and nostalgic, focussing on creating a past that was more stable and untroubled (Merriman, 1996). Hewison (1987) lambastes a 'heritage industry'. He interprets an increasing focus on the past as an exploitation of history to create a past which appears to have been more secure than the present. He sees this as a symptom of an inability of society to face the challenges of the present and future. Rather the past is, in his opinion, used as a crutch. Another exploration of the value of experiences casts them not as the replacement of reality with 'a sham' (Hewison, 1987), but as marketable products in their own right (Pine & Gilmore, 1998). This view fits more readily with the contemporary promises of the future benefits of a knowledge economy, than Hewison's concerns about the downturn of manufacturing and heavy industry in the 1980s.

McManamon and Hatton (2000) however portray heritage as an entirely separate concept from history with their only commonality, in their view, being the often dubious reference to the past. Lowenthal (1998), acknowledges the close links between heritage and history but stresses their differing aims; history as a focus on the past, while heritage focuses on the present. Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) explore the similarities of the two concepts as both being about the interpretation of the past.

Lowenthal examines the compatibility of the western concept of heritage with other cultures and explains that the concept is foreign in some cultures where physical structures are viewed as inherently transient. He states that the UNESCO Venice Charter which in the western world is the basis on which much legislation relating to the retention of artefacts from the past is drafted, is viewed as 'bizarre' in these cultures. A more meaningful relationship is established through continuity of practise and memory (Lowenthal, 1998: 20).

The overall consensus is that heritage is a relationship with the past which is created to meet the needs of the present. Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996: 6) summarise it as 'the present selects an inheritance from an imagined past for current use and decides what should be passed on to an imagined future'. This definition places stress on the role of the present in the selection of the aspects of the past which become valued as heritage. It suggests that to remain of value 'heritage must feel durable, yet be pliable' enough to adapt as the imagined future becomes the present and a new imagined future is constructed (Lowenthal, 1998: 171) This clearly differs from more traditional views of heritage as something which is inherited.

Merriman (1996) identifies the ease with which description of the items or site being studied can be substituted for their critical analysis within a broader conceptual framework. He reflects that this tendency may be an indication that each object or practise regarded as heritage is so deeply embedded in its specific context that explanatory generalisations are difficult to extract and possibly do not contribute significantly to the development of the critical study of heritage. In addition more understanding can be gained from the examination of heritage at a smaller scale, allowing a more detailed analysis. In this context he both highlights the use of post-modern approaches to heritage and suggests that they may be inadequate to analyse the complexity of personal perspectives and values aroused in response to heritage objects. Harvey (2001) contends that the interpretation of heritage reveals more about contemporary society, through the analysis of the assumptions made, than it does about the earlier time which is often the intended subject of the investigation.

Research on heritage has reflected the backgrounds of its practitioners. According to Edson (2004: 335) 'the concept of historic preservation, one part of the heritage

equation has become an ‘international cynosure’. Edson attributes this attention to the pressure for heritage to be protected and the worldwide governmental move to enact and revise legislation in the area of natural and cultural heritage. Malcolm- Davies (2004: 278) has observed this bias towards the study of heritage in formal settings such as museums and galleries. She expresses the view that comparatively little research has been carried out in relation to other sites such as ‘historic houses, castles, forts, monuments ships and archaeological sites’. This author would argue that all formal sites of interpretation of the past can be loosely grouped together in terms of the quantity of research carried out. The research on heritage sites which exist in the landscape with minimal (a plaque or single interpretive panel at most) or no interpretation is noticeably absent.

Also absent is the analysis of popular constructions of heritage. Lowenthal (1998) identifies the strength and longevity of popular accounts or anecdotes even in the face of academic accounts which disprove them. Over time that which is felt to be authentic is accepted as truth and becomes embedded in the stories of a culture to a point where ‘what gets recorded and celebrated becomes all but immune to deliberate revision’ (Lowenthal, 1998: 146).

2.6 Geographical Interpretations

From a geographical perspective it is the context in which a heritage object exists which reveals much about its interaction with society. The investigation of context does not figure greatly in the literature of heritage. Graham *et. al.* (2000) make reference to the spatial and context bound nature of heritage within a landscape which forms a ‘poly-vocal text’, which can be interpreted in many ways for differing purposes. O’Connor (2002) notes that these interpretations may reveal more about those interpreting the landscape than about the past. Edson (2004:337-8) makes the comment that ‘*In situ* and *ex situ* values are different and may (probably) cause the object, building, monument, or other heritage resources to send different messages’. He also highlights the important role played by ‘Spatio-temporal continuity’. Aplin (2002) draws attention to the necessity of understanding the role of scale in the examination of the ownership of heritage. These themes, however are not well examined in an empirical manner. The relationship of heritage to the landscape in

which it is constructed is revisited in relation to the mobility of maritime heritage in Chapter 5.

Graham *et. al.* (2000) locate the development of geographical research on the nature of heritage as a divergence from the study of tourism, although the study of tourist behaviour in relation to heritage continues to influence broader studies of heritage. This area of research focuses mainly on the interpretation, usage and economic implications of heritage rather than its conceptualisation and covers a wide spectrum of audiences from tourist operators, (Warren & Taylor, 2001) to those engaging with the subject on an academic level such as Herbert (1995), Orbasli (2000), and Timothy & Boyd (2003). Graham *et. al.* acknowledge that heritage is a much more extensive topic than can be examined using the tools supplied by the study of tourism. They point out that most research on heritage focuses more on the cultural than the economic aspects of heritage's place in society. It is interesting to note that they do not attribute a role to historical geography as Hardy (1988) envisioned there was.

Heritage has been employed as a setting in which the process of social exclusion has been studied (Atkinson *et al.*, 1997; Defilippis, 1997; Atkinson & Laurier, 1998). This work is useful as it relates to the formation and suppression of identity and the ownership of heritage. Waitt and McGuirk (1997) examine the process of the representation of the heritage of Millers Point on the waterfront of Sydney. Their findings that aspects of the past which relate to the elite and to national narratives are presented however in a formal way which inhibits the interpretation of the area as a former port and the presentation of the working class stories of its operation.

The practicalities of managing heritage figure prominently in the literature of heritage. Much focuses on the management of buildings and monuments in the light of their perception as heritage and visitation by those interested in them, through both broad ranging works by Aplin (2002), Hall & McArthur (1996) and a multitude of more specific studies often in aid of regulatory processes such as those conducted by the Department of Conservation (1998), and Turvey (2005). These works relate strongly to the literature of heritage tourism and the development of policy and management strategies.

Edson (2004) asserts that much of the world's heritage was fixed by the mid-nineteenth century. This thesis cannot accept this assumption as it does not hold in the continually evolving multicultural society of Aotearoa/ New Zealand nor in the light of the discussion above that heritage is an evolving concept which reinvents itself to meet the needs of society in the present. It is doubtful that this statement can be applied even in long settled areas of the world.

2.7 Conclusion: Role played by heritage

It can be seen that heritage is one way in which the past is approached and interpreted. Its influence in society is often more extensive than is realised by many (Fowler 1992: 27). Heritage emphasises the possessive nature of identity, especially when that identity is vested in tangible objects. The role of geography in analysing these interactions is to examine how society reacts to its past, rather than to tell and interpret the stories of the past for their own sake.

Much of the research on heritage analyses the concept from the context of Europe and North America and adopts a terrestrial point of view, focusing on heritage as it is associated with artefacts which are fixed in a particular place. The examination of heritage which is potentially mobile is often examined either in passing (Aplin, 2002) or through museological study. The next chapter draws on the broader conceptual discussion of heritage to investigate the relationship between heritage, the maritime past of Aotearoa/ New Zealand and the management structures which surround it. It will also explore O'Regan's (2005) assertion that maritime heritage exists at the edge of consciousness for most in New Zealand society and will examine the relationship between perception of human activity and natural processes in relation to the coastal and oceanic environment.

Chapter 3: Floating the theories of heritage

3.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the theoretical approaches to heritage reviewed in Chapter 2 in the light of maritime subject matter. It then explores their expression in New Zealand's cultural environment and within the country's legislative and policy framework which regulates the formal expression of heritage.

The structure of this chapter and its relationship to Chapter 2 are explained in figure 3.1. This shows the emergence from the literature of heritage of two areas which must be explained in parallel to facilitate the later discussion of maritime heritage in Aotearoa/ New Zealand.

The first two sections of this chapter examine the place of maritime activity in society and approaches to the study of maritime heritage. The chapter then moves to examine the formal frameworks which surround heritage in Aotearoa/ New Zealand, with an emphasis on maritime heritage. The strands of research which focus specifically on maritime heritage in Aotearoa/ New Zealand are introduced in the later part of this chapter. The chapter concludes by outlining the specific areas of research which are explored further in Chapters 5 and 6.

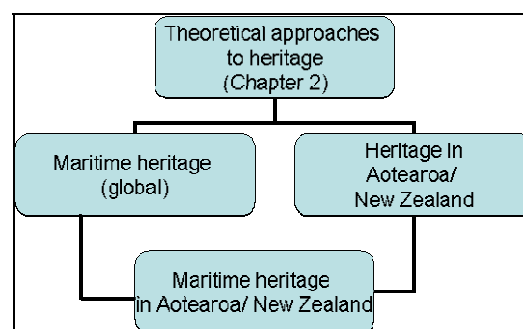


Figure 3.1: Overview of Chapter 3

3.2 Maritime heritage: on the margins?

O'Regan (2005), in his keynote address to the International Congress of Maritime Museums Conference located awareness of maritime issues at the periphery of society. He attributed this principally to the growth of air travel both domestically and internationally. His provocative description of the Pacific Ocean as representing 'two in-flight movies on the way to Disneyland' was repeated by several speakers from Europe and the United Kingdom as they explained the peripheral place of their museums in society in that part of the world. These descriptions fit well with Shields's (1991) examination of the coastal resort town of Brighton (England) and its associated beach as a 'place on the margin' where ordinary routines, behaviours and societal norms are suppressed, creating an environment in which other behaviours and standards are more accepted. Shields identifies conversation, interaction with those outside a person's own social group, and personal dress. This presentation of the coast being a place which is somewhere outside everyday life (for those who visit, rather than those who live or work in the environment permanently) amplifies the exploration of heritage as a place of play and vicarious experience, explored in Chapter 2. Day and Lunn assert that for most who experience maritime heritage as tourists, the content and experience they encounter is often 'marginal to their direct lived experiences' (2003: 298).

3.3 Approaches to the maritime past

This section reviews the principal approaches to the maritime past. It begins by discussing the key features of the body of work on relevant maritime topics in the disciplines of history and geography. The engagement with maritime artefacts through archaeology is then considered, the applications of that mainly empirical body of research in the management of the maritime past is considered in the section on functional literature. The interpretation and display of maritime stories in the public arena of museums are analysed, as is the retention and application of maritime skills.

Historical

The written study of the maritime past is mainly approached by researchers through an historical lens. Maritime history has been under theorised (Lincoln & Rigby, 2001) and is often presented for a general readership. It tends to be fragmented and focuses

specifically on artefacts, places or institutions in isolation, without necessarily examining how they are or were part of a wider society or network. The investigation of specific ships, ports and sailors figure prominently. If a ship was wrecked the drama of the event is likely to have been chronicled, and if the event occurred close to land, memorialised. The past of the ship is often documented as part an introduction to the more sensational tale.

Lincoln and Rigby (2001) identify a paradox in Britain where public awareness of maritime issues and the sea has declined at the same time as academic interest in the history of human use of the sea has increased. Outside the discipline of history there is less interest. Day and Lunn, (2003) also working in Britain, perceive that other areas of the study of heritage are far more researched than maritime sites and objects. These authors call for a broadening of the areas researched from a narrow focus on naval battles to the development of ‘a history of the sea’, setting the sea and coast into a broader social context. They report that this change has begun to occur both in academic research and the changing nature of the displays at the National Maritime Museum at Greenwich over the last twenty years.

Geographical

The study of port areas as heritage often focuses on the way in which abandoned or disused port sites or associated warehouses have been redeveloped and gentrified as residential or commercial precincts which make use of their maritime past as a point of difference but are no longer actively engaged in maritime activity (Waite & McGuirk, 1997; Atkinson *et al.*, 2002). The engagement with the processes of heritage in an area after the industry which is portrayed as heritage has ceased to operate in that area is common to other industrial heritages, and example of this type of study is Dicks (1999) who studies the impact of heritage interpretation in former mining towns in Wales. The study of heritage in operational industries is an area in which there has been little investigation. Oakley’s (2005) study of Port Adelaide appears to be one of very few studies to engage with the processes of displacement of maritime activity to accommodate waterfront renewal. Oakley examines the displacement which occurs through the creation of a ‘lifestyle port’ in place of a ‘working port’ in the Australian port of Adelaide. Most study has been on areas which have changed from areas of production to derelict areas before becoming reinvented

as landscapes of consumption (Walton, 2000), often accompanied by processes of gentrification (Howard & Pinder, 2003). These studies are concentrated on the reinvention of port areas in cities such as London, Liverpool, New York and Auckland, the use and re-use of maritime space outside cities has received little attention.

Geographical study of coastal landforms and processes has developed since the Second World War (Komar, 1998; Woodroffe, 2003), however there has been a lack of integration between the study of the physical geography of the coast and its human use (Psuty, Steinberg & Wright, 2002). In physical geography texts, human influences (engineering excepted) and motives are confined to the introduction and conclusion where their importance is stressed but not investigated. Psuty *et. al.* (2002) also call for human geographers to engage with the coast and oceans as study areas. Vallega (2003) engages with this subjects and suggests some specific ways to integrate the management of physical, biological and cultural heritage processes within the context of the European Union. Studies of physical processes on and near the coast focus mainly on beach environments. These along with many Regional Council planning documents (see section 3.4), make assumptions about the importance of 'natural character' (Environment Canterbury, 2005) and the desirability of a paradoxical un-peopled landscape without visible anthropogenic structures, so that each visitor can experience the environment in apparent isolation. This trend is visible an analysis of preferred landscape types in the Auckland region by Fairweather and Swaffield (2004). In that study infrastructural elements or signs of maritime activity were classed as intrusive as 'wild nature' was viewed as more scenic.

The perception that coastal sites which have little apparent human influence are more desirable is affirmed by Ergin, Karaesmen, and Williams (2004) who carried out coastal perception surveys in three locations in Europe. Their study, like most other geographical studies, focussed on beach use rather than the coast as a whole. However they made no attempt to examine perceptions of the coast as the location for any activities other than those based on sandy beaches.

Howard and Pinder (2003) in their article on the coast in the south-west of the United Kingdom examine the whole of the coast as one cultural system, rather than a series of discrete elements. Their study attempts to overcome the artificial distinctions between natural and cultural heritage, and advocates a landscape-based approach to the coast. New Zealand experience suggests that the coast is not easily conceptualised in this way. The coast is compartmentalised both conceptually by activity spaces, dictated by landform, and by regulatory means such as designated operational areas of ports, in which different standards and practices are allowed (Environment Canterbury, 2005). For most people, interaction with the beach or water sports is more common and familiar than interaction with ports or commercial shipping. Ports are therefore viewed as interesting places, or curiosities, to occasionally visit and observe them at work rather than to actively engage with the processes in operation.

Howard and Pinder (2003) also suggest that geographers have not examined the conceptualisation of heritage as a moveable concept. Rather they have tended to see heritage as ‘ineluctably located’ in a fixed place. The focus of geographic research on heritage has been directed towards a landscape of stationary objects and their contexts rather than the examination of objects which can create heritage spaces² both within and around them in changeable locations. They suggest that the examination of portable and re-locatable heritage has not been adequately addressed by geographers. Heritage management as a whole has tended to take this approach, Aplin (2002) limits his scope to *immoveable*³ heritage, and while Hall and McArthur (1996) approach ‘the human dimension’ of heritage they do so from a similar perspective, the management of sites. The study of moveable, but not necessarily smaller, items which are viewed as heritage is largely approached through the lenses of museology and archaeology. Geography has provided tools to support archaeology, for example, remote sensing, hydrography and GIS (Weirich, 2003).

Heritage beneath the waves

Much of that which is termed maritime heritage is either located underwater or has been retrieved from underwater for display or research. This is sometimes termed

² This concept is developed from Borovnik’s (2004) work on ‘Situating Seafarers in the Framework of Mobility and Transnationalism’. She advances the position that seafarers work in a space rather than a fixed place.

³ Italics in original

underwater or submerged cultural heritage. This 'environmentally confined' category of heritage (Forrest, 2002) encompasses: port structures and their remains such as jetties, piles, slipways, dredgings; items not of primarily maritime origin which have been dumped or lost- road vehicles, aircraft, rubbish; submerged terrestrial landscapes; as well as the more commonly imagined shipwrecks and their cargo, precious or not (Kenderdine, 1997). Shipwrecks which are located on the coast usually consist only of parts of the hull structure, due to salvage at the time of the wrecking, subsequent looting and the effects of coastal processes. While those submerged in deeper water have the potential to be more intact and may have ephemeral artefacts associated with them.

The removal of items from their original location, by humans (rather than natural processes) brings the questions of ownership and access to the fore. Underwater heritage is unique in that it can be located outside the jurisdiction of any one nation state. This existence is one which lies beyond the conceptualisation of most heritage theorists, who link heritage and national identity. McCarthy (2004) addresses this area in his examination of a ship of the Royal Navy, HM Ship *Roebuck* which was wrecked in the Ascension Islands. This site is identified as being of heritage value to three countries; Ascension Islands, where the ship lies; England, from where the ship originated; and Australia, where the ship played an important role in charting the coast of the continent. McCarthy's work focuses on the description of the shipwreck, but addresses the pluralistic nature of the values attached to the wreck. The Convention on the Protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage, adopted by the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) in 2001 attempts to provide guidance both inside and outside territorial waters. This convention has not as yet been ratified as only six of the required twenty states have ratified the convention. New Zealand has not ratified this convention (UNESCO, 2001).

The primary research on wrecks is undertaken by maritime, marine, nautical, or underwater archaeologists, as they are variously termed. This specialised and high cost field (Breen & Forsythe, 2001) is one which has been characterised by its lack of engagement with the body of theory developed in archaeology as a whole (Gibbins & Chippindale, 1990). Flatman (2003) describes the discipline as antiquarian in outlook,

focussing more on artefacts as ends in themselves rather than as data for further investigation on the societies which produced the material recovered. Breen and Forsythe (2001: 42) however contend that the discipline has moved beyond 'old trophyism' and was working to manage and interpret sites in the context of the landscape. This assertion is supported by the Solent Project, through which the *Mary Rose* was rediscovered and raised, with much subsequent analysis of not only the ship, and naval artefacts but also the personal effects and the remains of her crew, in order to reveal more about Tudor society (The Mary Rose Society, 2005).

Much of the literature produced by this field is in the form of site specific reports on investigations undertaken, either as reports to contracting bodies or as academic articles in journals, of which the *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* appears to have the largest circulation. Because of the environment in which these investigations take place a large proportion of the literature of this field is methodological and technical. The other principal area of discussion among researchers in this area is the control of recreational divers; they acknowledge the resource is of recreational interest but are dismayed and seek to halt, through education, the souveniring or looting of artefacts (Hutchinson, 1996; Breen & Forsythe, 2001).

There is some popular literature on the exploration of shipwrecks, as opposed to historical accounts of their occurrence such as Callan *et. al.* (2000). The most well known of these are the investigations of the RMS *Titanic* and the German battleship *Bismarck*, by Ballard (Ballard & McConnell, 2001) particularly the former owing ongoing to the high level of interest in the disaster and its portrayal in several films, the most recent being *Titanic* (Cameron, 1997). These engagements with the subject area result in a brief creation of an awareness of and interest in the topic.

Functional Research

Where the subject of the classification of maritime artefacts is applied to other than purely academic endeavours it often becomes the instrument of policy makers (Kenderdine, 1997; Henderson, 2001; Staniforth, nd). It is used to aid the legislative process in determining what is worthy of protection, and is the very essence of the

operation of heritage as a process. This is however carried out with reference to history rather than to an understanding of the conceptual nature of heritage.

Museums

The most publicly visible and accessible media by which the public interaction with the maritime past is through museums. Their function is to interpret and present aspects of that past for present day consumption. Much of the material on display has been gathered through the work of archaeologists, and especially in the case of donations which have been held by a museum for a long time, untrained fossickers. Museums which exhibit maritime artefacts exist in many different forms, sizes and styles, many of these are profiled in table 3.1

Neill and Krohn (1991: 9-13) identify eight themes of display for maritime museums around the world. These are: fishing and marine farming, voyages of exploration, maritime technology, navigational science, naval warfare, ports and trade, migration, and 'the community of the sea'. To this can be added an increasing awareness of the themes of the marine environment (Johnson & Potts, 2002), water sports (figure 3.2); and leisure.

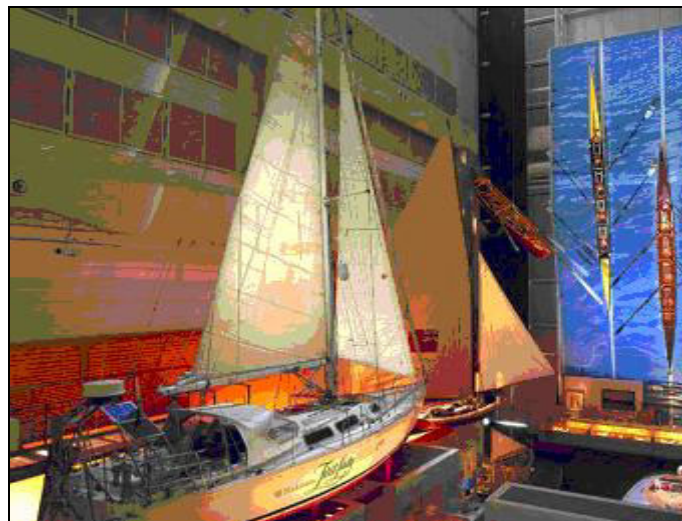


Figure 3.2 Watersport Display: Australian National Maritime Museum (Fletcher, 2005)

Table 3.1 Examples of Maritime Museums

Type	Example
Single ship museum	<i>Edwin Fox</i> Centre, Picton, New Zealand The <i>Vasa</i> Museum, Stockholm, Sweden USS <i>New Jersey</i> Museum, Philadelphia, USA
Location based museum with maritime galleries	Lyttelton Historical Society Museum, Lyttelton Otago Museum, Dunedin Dargaville Museum, Northland
Maritime artefact focused museum	Bluff Maritime Museum, Southland Port Charlmers Museum, Dunedin
Thematic maritime museums	National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, England New Zealand National Maritime Museum, Auckland Museum of Wellington: City and Sea
Archaeological sites with maritime links	Sutton Hoo, Suffolk, England Plimmer's Ark/ <i>Inconstant</i> , Wellington
Maritime content in a commercial setting	Time Tunnel, Christchurch Gondola Captain's Restaurant, Queenstown Captains Mis-steak, Hillsborough Tavern, Christchurch
Floating collections	Australian National Maritime Museum, Sydney Sydney Heritage Fleet South Street Seaport Museum, New York
Specialised focus within maritime subject area	Fisheries and Maritime Museum, Esbjerg V, Denmark New Bedford Whaling Museum, New Bedford, Massachusetts, USA Butler Point Whaling Museum, Mangonui, New Zealand Navy Museum, Den Helder, Netherlands Royal New Zealand Navy Museum, Auckland

The research which is produced from these institutions is in the main of a technical nature, dealing with matters such as the description and conservation of artefacts (The Transport Trust, nd). Some work, however, is of a more theoretical nature and discusses the way in which maritime museums interact with the present and the purpose of maritime artefacts, particularly large ships. Burningham (1997) makes mention of a paper entitled 'Conservation of an Ethnographic Object Too Big to Contemplate without a Large Whiskey' as evidence of the difficulty of applying consistent approaches to objects far larger than the rest of a museum's collection.

The interpretation of maritime artefacts is another prominent topic in the literature of maritime museums, again often in relation to ships and boats. Tanner (1997: 1) examines the concept of restoration of ships ‘to something like her former self’ and how this impacts on the presentation of the boat to the public. In particular he criticises the presentation of a romantic past as it is perceived from the present, ‘a bogus romanticism in which the sea is calm, the ship clean and happy, and all is full speed ahead’. He terms this ‘aestheticisation; a cleaning up of reality’. He also calls for a more conscious attempt to balance visitor experience with factual information. Day and Lunn (2003) identify nostalgia as a direction being explored by maritime museums. They too are cautious about the balance between trying to present an impression of everyday life at sea, and to attempt to make museums more accessible to the public, with a revision of the past which results in the construction of an imagined past.

Easthope’s (2001) work on the examination of sailing ships as heritage sites acknowledges their mobility in contrast to other heritage sites which are by their nature fixed in place. His main focus is on the classification of ships based on their ability to be used and the way in which they can be interpreted for public consumption. The desire to create or present a romanticised past is identified by Howard and Pinder (2003) in their identification of ships as often being prioritised, sometimes at the expense of other forms of heritage.

Education and cultural practices

Prominent amongst the vessels studied by Easthope are those which are used, in varying forms, for the purposes of education. Education is a key tool employed by maritime museums, more so than some other museums because of the opportunities for experiential learning (Ashley, 1997; Martling, 1997). Work in this area is wide ranging and is often linked to the discussion of the interpretation of artefacts (Logan, 2005), and to more theoretical debate over the purposes of preservation (Ashley, 1997).

Debate over the relative merits of preservation, restoration, and the construction of replica artefacts are also discussed in museological literature (Walker, 1997) and

further afield in the broader literature of social science (Laurier, 1998). The focus is debate among practitioners about their purpose and best practice rather than the often derogatory approach taken by heritage critics, such as Hewison (1987), who regard the replication of physical objects or past practices as the creation of a sham.

The concept of heritage is not only about the retention or otherwise of physical objects great and small, but also includes the continuation of practises and skills, be they mending fishing nets or visiting a particular part of the coast, to fish or have a picnic as an extended family. The study of commercial skills has tended to fall into the domain of maritime museums (Wagner, 1997), whereas leisure practises have been analysed by a wide range of disciplines including geography, history, sociology, anthropology and the academic study of folklore. These studies vary from popular pictorial works such as Johnson (1992), Barnett & Wolfe (1993), and Male (2003) to academic monographs and edited chapters such as Wall (1978), Marx (1983), Corbin (1994), Booth (2001), and Daley (2003). Like studies in physical geography, much attention is paid to the beach. These studies focus on the beach as a site of recreation or temporary residence and ignore the functions of the coast as a site of employment, trade and food gathering.

3.4 Management of heritage in Aotearoa/ New Zealand

This thesis now examines the implications of the multiple uses of the maritime environment on the management of the past in that environment in Aotearoa/ New Zealand. The legislation which concerns the protection of physical artefacts is discussed alongside the legislation, policy and plans which regulate the broader use of the interface between land and water. The changing values attached to the physical remnants of the past can be seen in the enacting of legislation to protect that which was seen as important. This section examines the way in which legislation interacts with and regulates maritime heritage in Aotearoa/ New Zealand.

Legislative and administrative framework

McLean (2001b) and Warren-Findley (2001) explore the framework of legislation, policy and organisational responsibility that forms the Government of New Zealand's response to the management of cultural heritage. Much of this work is descriptive of

the administrative structures in place and the opportunities (or the lack thereof) for historians to interact with them in the light of a perceived dominance of the area by architects. McLean makes mention of the reactionary and threat driven nature of much planning and involvement with heritage. Some links are drawn between the New Zealand experience of working in with the concept of heritage and the broader international literature. While McLean notes that most of the attention paid to heritage focuses on 'land-based' heritage, following on from the wording of the Historic Places Act 1993, Warren-Findley takes this act as a starting point and examines heritage only as a land based entity.

Terminology

In Chapter 2 the terminology used in academic literature to describe and categorise the relationships between people, societies and the past was examined. It was shown that this terminology does not have universal acceptance. The variation in terminology used extends to the realm of legislation and policy documents. McLean's (2001b) and Salmond's (2000) examinations of the terminology used in New Zealand by governmental agencies and the wider heritage community found that there is little distinction applied between the concepts of 'history' and 'heritage'. Much of the usage of the terms 'historic' and 'cultural' is designed to separate heritage incorporating structures built by humans from 'natural heritage'. The terms 'historic heritage', 'cultural heritage' and 'historic places' are used interchangeably (McLean, 2001b: 158)

ICOMOS New Zealand Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Heritage Value

This charter is one of an international group of charters formulated in response to the Venice Charter (1966) of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), a professional association of those involved in the conservation of architectural heritage. Internationally the organisation acts as an advisory body to UNESCO on the preservation and conservation of cultural heritage. These charters are designed to provide conceptual guidance on the preservation of architectural heritage. The ICOMOS New Zealand Charter (1995) differs in one major respect from other charters of this kind for it includes the possibility of relocation of buildings as a means of preserving them if it is not possible to retain the building on its original site.

This is a practical reaction to the nature of New Zealand architecture. Many buildings are constructed of wood and as such are relocated with relative ease (compared to larger brick or masonry buildings). The charter has no regulatory standing, however it is used as a set of principles which are regarded as best practice by central and local government (Christchurch City Council, 2006).

The New Zealand Historic Places Trust

The establishment of the New Zealand Historic Places Trust under the Historic Places Act 1954 signalled a change in perception of the past as something to be built on and replaced, to a heritage, a resource to be preserved (or at least parts of it) (McLean, 2000). The Historic Places Trust is now administered by the Ministry for Culture and Heritage but has previously been the responsibility of both the Department of Internal Affairs and the Department of Conservation. The Act administering the Trust was revised in 1993 making The Trust responsible for the protection of archaeological sites (with assistance from the New Zealand Archaeological Association), including shipwrecks which occurred before 1900 (New Zealand Historic Places Trust, 2004). The Trust has historically struggled for recognition and clarification of its statutory role and for funding. This has been rectified in part by the 2003 amendments to the Resource Management Act and the 'Cultural Recovery Package' contained in the government's budget in 2000 (Rosie, 2005).

Rarangi Taonga: the Register of Historic Places, Historic Areas, Wahi Tapu and Wahi Tapu Areas is the central tool of the Historic Places Trust. Registration of a building or object on this register however brings no protection. Protection can only be achieved through the listing of a site in a City or District Plan or the granting of a heritage order; both processes occur under the Resource Management Act 1991 (Salmond, 2000) (see below). Donaghey (2001: 366) labels the registration process as 'inconsistent and reactionary', and calls for a programme of research and assessment.

However despite incorporating 'heritage' as a central part of the definition of what can be protected under the Historic Places Act (1993), no definition is provided in the Act.

The closest to a description of what is meant by heritage is a definition of a ‘historic place’ in Section 2 of the act:

‘Historic place—

(a)Means—

(i)Any land (including an archaeological site); or

(ii)Any building or structure (including part of a building or structure); or

(iii)Any combination of land and a building or structure,—

that forms part of the historical and cultural heritage of New Zealand and lies within the territorial limits of New Zealand; and

(b)Includes anything that is in or fixed to such land:’

However this definition only lists the classes of artefact and land which can be considered, and does not provide any guidance as to the basis of the assessment of the site’s significance.

There is also protection for items from shipwrecks which occurred after this time under the Maritime Transport Act (1994), although this is principally designed to protect the economic and property interests of the owners of wrecked ships and their cargo.

Local Government and maritime heritage

Local Government in New Zealand is a two tier system consisting of Regional Councils which principally have responsibility for the regulation of the use of natural resources, including the coastal environment, below the line of Mean High Water Springs (the implications of this boundary are discussed in the next section). City and District Councils cover smaller spatial areas and are responsible for controlling land usage, building and the provision of services.

In the late 1980s a series of neo-liberal reforms of local government were carried out in association with the reform of planning legislation (see next section). Amongst these was the separation of commercial and regulatory functions then carried out by local governments. This resulted the replacement of a number of localised statutory boards with specific functions. Harbour Boards were prominent amongst these and controlled both the operation of the ports within their jurisdiction and the broader regulation of water based activities. The regulatory functions of the Harbour Boards

were transferred to the newly created Regional Councils. The commercial operation of ports was divested to newly established port companies operating as solely commercial entities. The initial ownership of these companies was given to local government, but with the expectation that these shares would be sold and the companies would move into private ownership (Memon, Milne & Selsky, 2004). This has not yet occurred to any great degree and all ports are at least part owned by local government or trading companies owned by councils. The recent attempt to attract foreign investment in the Lyttelton Port Company⁴ is discussed in Chapter 6.

Resource Management Act 1991

This Act is the principle guide to land and resource usage in New Zealand. As an effects-based piece of legislation the Act obligates the developer to avoid, remedy or mitigate any adverse effects resulting from their planned activities. From its enactment it has included the natural environment and sites of importance to Maori as ‘matters of national importance’ which must be considered in every application for consent to carry out an activity (Section 6). Despite its role in providing protection from destruction for heritage, it was not until 2003 that the Act was amended to include ‘historic heritage’ among these considerations. The privileging of the natural environment over cultural heritage, particularly on aesthetic grounds, has been a long standing trend which can be traced back to the Scenery Preservation Act 1903, New Zealand’s first conservation legislation. In 2001 Donaghey expressed the concern that under the legislation then in force cultural heritage could be viewed as a luxury item, and be easily ignored in the development process, similar views were also expressed by many preservation groups. The 2003 amendments have attempted to address this deficiency in through the incorporation of the following definition into the Act:

Historic heritage—

(a) means those natural and physical resources that contribute to an understanding and appreciation of New Zealand’s history and cultures, deriving from any of the following qualities:

- (i) archaeological
- (ii) architectural
- (iii) cultural
- (iv) historic
- (v) scientific
- (vi) technological; and

⁴ Recently re-branded as ‘Lyttelton Port of Christchurch’, however for clarity between the discussion of the port environment and the port company which operates within it the older form ‘Lyttelton Port Company’ is used in this thesis.

(b) includes—

- (i) historic sites, structures, places, and areas; and
 - (ii) archaeological sites; and
 - (iii) sites of significance to Maori, including wahi tapu; and
 - (iv) surroundings associated with the natural and physical resources.
- (2003)

This incorporation of ‘historic heritage’ into the Resource Management Act has prompted the re-evaluation of the classification and management processes in this area in many local authorities (Christchurch City Council, 2005) .

Management of maritime heritage, along with physical processes on the coast, under the Resource Management Act is made more difficult by the division of the cultural (and physical) environment between two levels of local government, along the line of Mean High Water Springs. This theoretical boundary sees the land above it managed by City and District Councils (Territorial Local Authorities), while the foreshore and seabed to 12 miles out to sea is managed by Regional Councils in conjunction with the Minister of Conservation. The management focuses of these two types of councils are different. Regional Councils focus on the management of physical resources and Territorial Local Authorities have responsibility for the use of land.

The New Zealand Historic Places Trust highlights the addition of protection for heritage on the foreshore and seabed in section 12 of in the 2003 Amendment to the Act. (New Zealand Historic Places Trust, 2004:3). This has the potential to reduce inconsistent management of maritime heritage. The Trust also advocates the development of a National Policy Statement under Section 45 of the Resource Management Act to promote consistent management of heritage sites (2004: 14).

Antiquities Act 1975

This Act applies to many aspects of maritime heritage. Several of the definitions of artefacts controlled by the Act relate to maritime heritage both specifically and indirectly. Included are: artefacts over 60 years old which relate to the European discovery and settlement of New Zealand; articles from ships or boats (including their cargo) wrecked in New Zealand for 60 years or more, where those articles are judged to be of national importance. The Act controls the export, ownership, trade in and disposal of artefacts which are defined as antiquities (1975).

Other Legislation

Heritage buildings which are open to the public need to comply with the provisions of the Building Code 1992, which regulates earthquake strengthening, accessibility and fire prevention. In addition many heritage vessels are classified as commercial vessels and as such are subject to the requirements of the Safe Ships Management programme (Maritime Rule 21) administered by Maritime New Zealand. This covers operator qualifications, survey requirements, safety equipment to be carried, operating procedures, loading and limits of operation. (Maritime New Zealand, 2005)

Many structures, sites and vessels regarded as maritime heritage exist within areas controlled by the Maritime Security Act (2004) and the International Ship and Port Facility Security Code (International Maritime Organisation, 2003). These restrict access to port facilities, which impacts on the ability of interested parties to interact with objects and sites they regard as maritime heritage. The provisions of the Health and Safety in Employment Act (1992) place responsibility on the operators and owners of sites to which the public have access to provide a safe environment. This has led to some restriction of access to sites. This question of the accessibility of maritime heritage will be discussed further in Chapter 6 with respect to the potential for conflict over ownership and access.

3.5 New Zealand contribution to heritage research

Much of the research carried out examining heritage in New Zealand is undertaken on a piecemeal and site specific basis to satisfy the requirements for conservation plans to support funding applications; and as part of assessments of environmental effects required for applications for resource consent under the Resource Management Act 1991. Most academic literature in the field is geared towards the management of heritage, rather than its analysis as a concept (Trapeznik & McLean, 2000: 15). This indicates a general acceptance of the concept of heritage, but hampers the development of workable definitions to be applied in legislation and management (Section 3.4). Analysis of tourism is a major part of this body of literature. Tourism industry publications such as Tourism News (2005) and government policy development and interpretation, supplement more scholarly treatments such as Aplin (2002) and Hall & McArthur (1996).

Trapeznik's (2000) edited volume approaches the conceptualisation of heritage in a New Zealand setting in a clear and coherent manner. It examines the disciplinary approach of public history, that is history which is presented for and attempts to engage with the public rather than a specially academic audience. The lack of a specific outlet for academic work of a reflective nature on the expression of heritage values in New Zealand is noted by McLean (2001b) in his analysis of the relationship between historians and heritage. Periodicals which cover the area of heritage, rather than academic history, are almost universally the output of historical societies which have in general a terrestrial focus or other interest groups such as the New Zealand Ship and Marine Society (1949-). These publications focus on the practical efforts of these groups to trace or restore artefacts and to lobby for the protection of buildings and locations. The magazines Memories (Cooke, 1995-) and Heritage Matters (Currie, 2005-), at times include maritime photographs or reminiscences.

Historical

In New Zealand, the balance between naval history and commercial shipping appears more even, with the fluid boundaries between academic and popular works, identified by Day and Lunn (2003), visibly present. This is a reflection of those working in the subject area. Interest in maritime matters occurs, in the main, outside of academic circles with authors working in the area as a hobby rather than as part of a research programme. Werz (2003) indicates that this trend is not unique to New Zealand. Arnold (1994) and Atkinson (2001) both make mention of the lack of attention paid to maritime activity in mainstream histories. This lack of integration appears to be being addressed, in part, through Te Ara: The Encyclopaedia of New Zealand which is being developed as an electronic resource by the Ministry of Culture and Heritage. This second theme of 'Earth, Sea and Sky' includes in its nine topic groups, plans for articles on: Marine environment, People and the Sea, Seabirds, and Sea Life (Ministry of Culture and Heritage, 2005).

The examination of maritime activity is, in most general histories, limited to a brief description of the whaling and sealing industries and an explanation of the arrival of settlers, both Maori and European in Aotearoa/ New Zealand. Travel by ship becomes a rite of passage in the process of migration and the establishment of communities and

a nation. The place of maritime heritage in this is also ambiguous, either interpreted as the physical representation of the process of change or as a part of a story which becomes located in either the origin or destination of the migrants. Historians such as MacDonald (1990) incorporate personal records, usually in the form of diaries, into their examination of settlement patterns and social history. Arnold (1994), uses maritime records to provide insight into the nature of the economy and society through his case study of coastal shipping connecting the North and South Islands in the 1880s.

The history of transport is often written as the story of the advancement of technology (and in some accounts, therefore, the advancement of civilisation). There is a strong focus on the technology of shipping, the refining of sailing rigs and the development of steam, then motor powered ships, along with the changes in hull form and navigational technology. Pawson (1979) notes that much work in this area does not attempt to place the development of transport technology into society as a whole. Watson (1996), structures his study of New Zealand transport history in a series of eras and emphasises how successive advances in technology superseded previous means of transport. His discussion makes little reference to the infrastructure which supports transport, nor the purposes for which goods and people were transported. His coverage of maritime activity in pre-European and colonial periods is extensive but it becomes repetitious in later chapters as maritime activity is referred to only as a means of emphasising the primacy of land, then air based transport; largely ignoring the ongoing importance of shipping to the transportation of cargo. Atkinson (2001) chronicles seafarers as a occupational group with a distinctive subculture within colonial New Zealand up to the end of the Second World War, a time he sees as the point at which maritime industries, particularly those relying in coastal trade, began to decline. He cites containerisation and deregulation as the principle causes of this, however as is indicated by his subtitle 'New Zealand Seafarers under Sail and Steam' he examines only the 'golden era' and does not chart the more recent changes in maritime industry.

McLean's (2001a) Captain's Log: New Zealand's Maritime History does bring the examination of maritime topics to the present. This book was written for a popular audience and accompanies the television series of a similar name: Captain's Log:

Charting New Zealand's Maritime Heritage (Everton, 2001). These two works reflect the distinctions drawn between history and heritage in the literature reviewed in Chapter 2. The book presents a semi-thematic history of maritime activity, while the television series uses Cook's journeys around the coast of Aotearoa/ New Zealand as a narrative device to link the presentation of journeys on several different types of vessels (both modern and those preserved as 'heritage') operating on the coast today.

Most other historical approaches to maritime topics in New Zealand have tended to be very specific in their focus; either on an industry such as David Johnson's comprehensive history of the fishing industry (2004, completed by J. Haworth) or location based such as the large number of articles and books published by authors such as Amodeo's (1992; 2000; 2004; 2005b) work on aspects of Canterbury, Hawkins (1978; 1998) work on Coastal trading vessels, or Kidd and Elliot's (1998; 2004) investigation of pleasure craft. Naval histories, such as Wright (2001), focus on the practical exercise of implementing defence policy, and life in the Navy.

Of the historians working on maritime topics in New Zealand, McLean (2000; 2001b) is the most theoretically aware, in that he acknowledges that his works are interpretations of the available information. He has also examined the development of the concept of heritage in New Zealand. McLean's work on the nature of heritage in New Zealand from European settlement onwards notes the beginnings of the valuing of the past from the late nineteenth century through the commemoration and recording of the 'firsts' achieved in a locality by Pakeha settlers. These were emphasised by Pakeha New Zealand as a way of marking its (mainly technological) progress and advancement. However it was not until the late 1930s, prompted by the centenary of the signing on The Treaty of Waitangi in 1940 that things which were old began to become viewed as historic (McLean, 2000).

Presented heritage

Ships are employed as tools, in the telling settlement narratives. 'Large watercraft are impressive, evocative and monumental' tools which are frequently used in the public presentation of these stories (Bunningham, 1997). New Zealand is far from the largest concentrations of such vessels, and the costs of a long voyage do not fall within the budgets of event organisers (Lister, 2005), so often it is usually either the STS *Spirit*

of New Zealand or a smaller local vessel such as *Fox II* in conjunction with traditionally styled open craft which provide the desired symbolism. Museums are the most permanent way in which the past is presented to the general public the coverage of maritime topics is in most museums either through the display of a collection of maritime artefacts with little interpretation, or through illustrating the part played by sea travel in the settlement of that locality.

Geographical studies of heritage

Geographers have engaged with the conceptualisation of heritage, and this has been through the examination of the relationship of place and aspects of the past in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Galletly (1982) examined the preservation of buildings deemed to be of historic significance within the context of New Zealand's urban areas. Hay (1990) investigates the way in which people relate to a place and the effect of cultural on those relationships, while Kirby (1997) investigates the interaction of the concepts of heritage and place with reference to the West Coast of the South Island. Balcar and Pearce (1996) focus on the more specific interaction of tourists with specific sites in the same area of the country.

The collection of papers grouped under the theme 'Land, Place and Time' in 2001, Geography A Spatial Odyssey: Proceedings of the Third Joint Conference of the New Zealand Geographical Society and the Institute of Australian Geographers (Holland, Stephenson & Wearing, 2002) focuses on the scales at which cultural and economic processes (such as global trade, and the construction of national and internal boundaries) operate and how these connect to places over time. O'Connor (2002) examines the classification of heritage in a case study in Western Australia and its relationship to the connections formed between people and places. While Stephenson (2002) advocates the examination of heritage in the context of the landscape it exists within rather than as isolated sites so that the connections between the elements of the landscape can be investigated. She likens the preservation of specific sites without acknowledging the landscape in which they exist to an attempt to preserve a specific species without reference to the ecosystem which surrounds it. Pawson and Brooking's (2002) edited volume examines the development of relationships between society and the environment of Aotearoa/ New Zealand. Morgan (2001) has focussed on the geographic analysis of memorials and their place within society.

However, there has been little engagement with maritime heritage which is identified as geographic in origin. Ballantine (1958), Shave (1959) and Rimmer (1973a; 1973b) examine of shipping system from European settlement to the middle of the twentieth century. Memon, Milne, & Selsky's (2004) more recent article analyses the of changes in the operations of ports as a result of corporatisation, although these works explore changes over time and the past operation of ports they are focussed on processes relating to trade, rather than any broader consideration of the physical environments of ports, as is Yarwood's (2003) pictorial profile of the port systems of Auckland.

3.6 Conclusion

In the past two chapters I have reviewed the body of academic knowledge on the concept of heritage and how it is applied both in Aotearoa/ New Zealand, and to the cultural interface between land and water, the maritime world.

It is evident that although heritage has been analysed and theorised at a national scale there are gaps in the conceptualisation of heritage at a local and transient scale. Most studies analyse built heritage which is, for the most part, physically fixed in place, and is interpreted in differing ways by audiences which visit it. Maritime heritage is situated at the periphery, both physically and culturally. The location of maritime heritage has not been explored in any depth in New Zealand. The examination of the context in which the maritime world, and particularly its relationship with its past will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Heritage is often a contested realm. The value laden nature of the identification of artefacts and locations from the past which are designated as important, is open to disagreement and conflict. The retention of artefacts from the past is often associated with conflict between those who value them and wish them to be retained and those who plan to use the location, or funds for their upkeep, for other purposes. The concepts of retention, preservation and conservation have been identified as key themes in the discussion of heritage; these are discussed in relation to the maritime environment in Chapter 6.

Chapter 4:

Theory and dirty old bits of boat: setting sail into research

(after Flatman, 2003)

4.1 Introduction

This chapter will outline the process by which this thesis was researched and written, and the key factors which have influenced its development, both conceptually and practically. The chapter begins with a section reflecting on the positionality of the author. This is written in the first person. This background information provides the context in which the scope of the thesis and methodology are discussed in relation to the aims of the thesis. The chapter examines the research tools employed and discusses the effects of these on the analysis of the topic. The chapter concludes by examining the place of the researcher within the topic.

4.2 Positionality and situated knowledges

Sauer makes the salient point that geography is about knowledge gained by observation and emphasises the value of fieldwork (Sauer, 1956). While many of the methods and approaches to the discipline have changed significantly in the fifty years since Sauer wrote this statement, fieldwork and observation are still key parts of geography. It became increasingly obvious throughout this study that observation in the field and everyday life could become inextricably linked and that the acquisition of knowledge was both an active and a passive occupation.

Linking life and research

To explain the conceptual structure of this thesis it is necessary to identify my own links with the topic, which extend beyond this research. The topic choice extends out from my home, for I have lived in Lyttelton for most of my life. I have engaged with the port and harbour in both active and passive ways: observing the development and relationship of port and town through the lens of residence, taking note of the way in which the port impacts on daily life, be it noises in the night, or relaxing on the verandah watching ships manoeuvre. The lens of residence also extends to the insider knowledge through local gossip and newspapers.

My ongoing, active interaction with the port and harbour has chiefly been as a Sea Scout (both as a youth member and adult leader), and as a Crew Member of Canterbury Coastguard. These roles provide access to further situated knowledge, both in relation to management procedures and opportunities for regular observation. I have also worked in the informal maritime sector as a casual labourer on the repair of a ferry sunk during the destruction of the Lyttelton Marina in late 2000.

On a broader spatial scale I am also a member of the Spirit of Adventure Trust and sail as a volunteer crew member on the STS *Spirit of New Zealand*. These roles, together with my place of residence, and previous research (Davies, 2004, forthcoming) have formed the experience of the maritime environment of Aotearoa/ New Zealand which I bring to this research (See appendix 1 for a list of the places visited through these contacts and roles). An aspect of both researching and recreating in the same physical environment is the lack of separation between work in the field as conscious engagement with this study, and leisure time on or near the water.

4.3 Scope of research

It is recognised that in some ways a nationally based examination of the maritime past is paradoxical as one of the primary functions and characteristics of maritime activity is the connection of many different parts of the world for the purpose of exchanging goods, people and ideas. This study is set firmly in the context of Aotearoa/ New Zealand and the international nature of heritage is examined only through the comparison with international literature where it facilitates the examination of maritime heritage in this country.

This thesis explores the understanding of the term maritime, in relation to those parts of the past which are viewed as heritage. It was necessary at the outset to establish a preliminary scope for the research. Westerdahl (2003) advances the view that although the root of the word maritime is the Latin *mare*, the sea, the cultural meaning of the term is broader than suggested by semantics. His test of whether an inland body of water could be regarded as maritime was the extent to which the cultural conditions there resembled those at the coast. He attributes a significant role in this assessment to the scale of the body of water.

Having established that a maritime cultural environment was not necessarily confined to the coast, its boundaries needed to be defined in cultural terms. The bicultural nature of society in Aotearoa/ New Zealand provides a challenge to the examination of maritime heritage. The sea, *te moana*, is regarded very differently by Maori and Pakeha. Traditionally the sea has been at the centre of all Polynesian societies and water was regarded as a highway rather than a barrier (O'Regan, 2005). The examination of these widely different conceptualisations of the place and use of the sea and the life within it, in society, is a topic worthy of further detailed examination, however its scope is too ambitious to be included as an aim of this thesis. The incorporation of Maori use of the sea is included in the analysis of the case studies in Chapter 5, as it forms part of the grouping of stories presented by the New Zealand National Maritime Museum.

The sea and the coast, as physical and biological environments, are essential to maritime activity. At a basic level, without the sea, this field of study (and almost certainly life on the planet) would not exist. Water provides the medium in which the activities which become heritage take place. The relationship between the values attached to maritime (human) activity and to its setting is even more closely interwoven than in a terrestrial environment (Howard & Pinder, 2003). Despite this there are still differences (in western societies) in the values attached to human activities and anthropogenic objects regarded as heritage and the environment in which they operate(d) (Lowenthal, 2005; Olwig, 2005). This study focuses on the context in which maritime heritage exists, principally in the context of its 'cultural landscapes' (Jones, 2003), rather than the biological or physical environment. However, given the links drawn above, the discussion of the physical and biological environments must be addressed.

Naval heritage is likewise an area which has strong ties to maritime heritage. Naval matters are usually critically examined from the perspective of political science or global history, as an instrument by which nations assert and defend their sovereignty. Historical studies, both popular and academic, of individual ships or battles are common (Lincoln & Rigby, 2001). In New Zealand it is possible to divorce the examination of naval and maritime heritage as there are no prominent preserved ships

on display in ports around the country. The presentation of life at sea through ships such as HM Ships *Victory*, *Warrior*, and *Belfast* at Portsmouth; HMAS *Diamantina* at the Queensland Maritime Museum, the Navy Museum at Den Helder in the Netherlands, USS *Constitution* in Charleston, Boston and ORP *Blyshawica* in Poland, would make this separation of military and civilian heritage more arbitrary. Naval heritage in New Zealand is in the main a self contained entity, its main public interaction is through the 'Protect and Serve' series of recruiting commercials (Bradshaw, 2005).

There are signs that there is an increasing public recognition of the role played by the Merchant Navy in World Wars One and Two. This is principally in the form of plaques attached to war memorials recognising the Merchant Navy as a service which made a contribution equal to that of the Navy, Army and Air Force, in times of conflict. Plaques of this nature have been added to the Christchurch Citizens War Memorial, the Wanganui War Memorial and the Lyttelton War Memorial (Figure 4.1). These have been placed as the result of a campaign driven by individuals and groups who feel that their service needs recognition rather than as the result of any coordinated or official effort.



Figure 4.1: The unveiling of the Combined Services Plaque on the Lyttelton War Memorial (February 2006)

Defining the scope of this thesis was thus an ongoing reflexive exercise which was guided throughout by the literature and case studies examined. Although detailed coverage of the areas and topics profiled in this section was excluded from the primary focus of this thesis, they are still examined to the extent that they relate to other areas. This reflects the interconnected natures of both the conception of the past as heritage and the maritime world.

4.4 Methodology

This thesis has approached heritage as a concept which is constructed by actors in the present, emphasising aspects of their perception of the past, to meet contemporary needs (Lowenthal, 1998). This approach to heritage necessitated the experiencing and analysis of the ‘performance’ of heritage through a variety of media (Crang, 1994), both popular and academic, and critically examine the presented past as a force in the present, rather than to analyse the narrative of the past as an end in itself.

Heritage is an inherently proprietorial concept (Lowenthal, 1998) and can only exist as the heritage of a group or individuals. The construction of heritage occurs on an individual and often subconscious level. The examination of individual perceptions of heritage therefore is an exercise in psychology (Crang, 1994), rather than in geography. Tuan (2003: 879) hypothesises that ‘experience affects perception, and no two individuals can have the same life experiences’. Howard and Pinder (2003) echo this emphasis on the importance of perception in defining heritage in coastal areas. This thesis examines maritime heritage in the context of places, and the impact of the potential mobility of maritime artefacts on the context in which maritime heritage exists. Tuan (2003: 878) asserts that the concept of place is significant to the construction of heritage ‘because, among other things, it is a repository of the past’.

Three approaches to the exploration of maritime heritage are employed in this thesis: the analysis of literature pertinent to the study area; the examination of case studies; and the reflection on the integration of life and research. Within each, several methods are used in tandem and these are detailed in the following sections. Each approach to the topic is examined and then all are drawn together and the relationship between the

approaches is discussed. It is through the intermeshing of all the methodological tools identified in this chapter that the aims of this thesis are addressed (see Chapter 1).

Literature review

Wallach (2005) notes the interdisciplinary nature of geographical research. This thesis therefore draws on a number of literatures and methodologies as heritage exists in the context of many parts of society. Engaging with literature from a wide variety of sources enabled the examination of both ‘empirical’ and ‘transcendental’ aspects of heritage (Merriman, 1996: 381-2). The nature of the literature which has been drawn into this research and the impact of those works was explored more fully in Chapters 2 and 3. This section identifies some methodological features of this engagement, particularly with respect to popular literature.

Analysis or adventure story?

In searching for and evaluating works on maritime topics the truth of Lincoln and Rigby’s (2001) caution about the tendency towards hagiography of older works on the topic became apparent. Some dealing with the lives and working conditions of sailors fit into the category described by Lowenthal where historical poverty is transmuted ‘into wholesome, warm, and welcoming frugality’ (Lowenthal, 1998: 91). This romanticising of danger and hardship is often framed in the language of adventure. Merriman’s (1996) assertion that description of heritage is sometimes substituted for analysis also proved to be accurate in some cases.

Popular literature

The intent of the review of literature on maritime heritage in Aotearoa/ New Zealand has been to identify themes which occur across a wider number and range of sites than it was possible to examine through case studies. Sites such as shipwrecks and lighthouses which exist in remote or inaccessible areas were examined through the media, popular literature, and electronic resources. The analysis of material from both popular and academic sources enabled the themes observed in the case studies profiled below to be examined in relation to other sites both within Aotearoa/ New Zealand and internationally.

This broader survey has followed Crang's (1994: 344) rejection of establishing a typology of items and sites in order to attempt to classify and quantify heritage. The concept of heritage as a 'transcendent signifier', rather than as a collection of sites and objects, has been prominent in this analysis.

Case-studies

The selection of case studies has also evolved to become theme rather than object driven. To avoid the thesis becoming moribund by the identification and classification of numerous sites, a limited number of case-studies were selected. The aim of this thesis is clearly not to produce a 'schema' of maritime heritage (Easthope, 2001). The case studies were chosen as they exist within a range of contexts, these are used to explore the applicability of global literature on heritage to Aotearoa/ New Zealand, and to examine the place of maritime heritage in these islands. The focus in the literature on built heritage and its relationship to its surroundings together with the emphasis on the 'setting' of a building in the ICOMOS New Zealand Charter (1995), has led to the study of the context of maritime heritage in the light of its mobility.

The methodological approaches to the three case studies are examined below in the light of Crang's (1994) conceptualisation of heritage as 'performance', the interpretation of artefacts, rather than the physical objects themselves. Each case study was examined through participant observation, interviews with some of those involved in the management of the 'site', and through examination of the texts associated with the site, both printed and the site itself.

New Zealand National Maritime Museum (NZNMM)

This museum was chosen as a case study because it gathered objects and stories relating principally to the whole of New Zealand and presented them as representative of national maritime stories. Objects are therefore removed from their 'everyday' physical contexts and reinvented as 'heritage' (Lowenthal, 1998: 114). The result of the selection and the grouping of items in this way is an intensification of the past to create a visitor experience (Crang, 1994).

This museum was examined through a combination of site visits, interviews with staff, research in the museum's library and attendance at the International Congress of Maritime Museums Triennial Conference hosted by the museum. The repeat visits to the museum over a period of a week, followed by another visit a month later allowed the analysis of the museum to be both through the tourist lens of a place 'to do' (Cragg, 1994: 348) and through the experience of a more familiar place allowing the observation and examination of details overlooked during the first encounter with the museum.

Museum staff were familiar with public interaction as they frequently have researchers using the museum's collections, particularly the Bill Laxon Library (Boyd, 2005). The difference in this instance is that my research focused on the museum as an institution rather than on material held in its collections. This had an impact on the relationship established between the researcher and the museum staff, particularly those who had curatorial responsibilities who were called upon to explain their perception of the functions and operation of the museum at a professional and academic level. This was particularly evident through their suggestions of areas of investigation which could engage with the aims of the research.

Participant observation in the museum galleries and on the museum's vessels was covert, in that research was carried out without the researcher being visibly labelled as such. However as the focus of the research was the displays rather than museum visitors this did not present any ethical issues within this research or from the museum's perspective. The camera which in other settings would be obtrusive, in this setting was part of the dress which could be expected of a museum visitor.

TSS Earnslaw

The TSS *Earnslaw*, often referred to as 'the lady of the lake', is a coal fired steamship, operated by Real Journeys, on Lake Wakatipu. It was included in this thesis as a means to examine the relative roles played by form, function, and location in the formation of heritage value. As a vessel of a size uncommon in New Zealand's lakes and rivers the, *Earnslaw* has the potential to be interpreted in several different ways.

Research on the *Earnslaw* was carried out through four methods. Interviews with staff responsible for both the operation and management of the vessel were conducted both aboard the vessel and in the company's offices. Participant observation was carried out during two complimentary cruises offered by Real Journeys. Observation of the broader cultural and natural landscape of Queenstown was undertaken to enable analysis of the context in which the *Earnslaw* operates. Analysis of the Application for Resource Consent by Real Journeys to continue to discharge coal smoke to air is included to give insight into the regulatory context in which heritage exists.

The object of this fieldwork was to obtain information about the context in which the *Earnslaw* operates and the way in which she is presented. However due to the use of the term heritage in the description of the research, some of the interviewees were under the initial impression that it was the history of the vessel and its operation that was being researched. This, coupled with the identification of the research as being undertaken from a geographical perspective, led to some misunderstanding, at the beginning of the interviews, of the information sought. This was addressed during each interview by reframing the questions asked.

Like the research on the NZNMM, the research carried out in Queenstown was carried out in part using a 'tourist gaze' (Urry, 2002), approaching the sites as heritage and tourist attractions. The material which was gathered was then interpreted, in the light of its method of collection, after the fieldwork was completed.

Lyttelton Harbour

In contrast to the intensive fieldwork undertaken in Queenstown and Auckland the research on Lyttelton harbour and the port system which operates within it has occurred at a slower pace. This has evolved as an analysis of what Crang (1994) identifies as 'local experience' of heritage where aspects of the landscape are highlighted as heritage. The promotion of 'day tripping heritage' where visitors are attracted to heritage during a visit to a locality rather than by visiting an attraction, is also investigated.

The interaction between port, community and heritage in Lyttelton has been examined through: an analysis of local media, interviews a representative of the Lyttelton Port Company, New Zealand Historic Places Trust staff, and the Christchurch City Council's project manager for the marina at Magazine Bay. This was supplemented by the observation of, and participation, in local events, the recording of changes in the maritime landscape and an analysis of the interaction with maritime themes and port structures observable in the township.

Semi structured approach

In all of these case studies no attempt was made to formalise, standardise or codify the observation or interview process. This thesis does not attempt to quantify any universal rules of heritage, as has been attempted for 'Outstanding Natural Landscapes' (Fairweather & Swaffield, 2004) or for coastal landscapes (Ergin *et al.*, 2004). Rather the intention was to respond to the nuances of each case-study and pursue the avenues of enquiry which were presented or became obvious (Laurier, 2003; Cook, 2005). The intent of these case studies was that they were what Black (2003) terms 'problem orientated'. That is, they helped to further the investigation of the context in which maritime heritage exists in New Zealand. This thesis does not approach the sites and organisations examined as 'source orientated' case studies in which it is the stories of the development of those sites and organisations which are analysed (Black, 2003).

Interweaving and balancing the approaches

The existence of multiple priorities while living in part of the environment being studied was in contrast to the intensive visits to the study sites outside of Christchurch. The approaches to these sites match the differing types of sites as identified by Crang (1994) -those which are deliberately constructed for visitors and those in which existing landscapes are interpreted as heritage, with little change to their other roles.

Baker (2003: 3-4) examines historical geography as an area of study which exists between history's focus on the creation of 'periods' and geography's creation of 'places'. This study focuses on the geographical part of this continuum as it

acknowledges and explores the creation of heritage as a generic and to some extent timeless ‘olden days’ (Lowenthal, 1998: 137-8), rather than seeking to deconstruct it and reconstruct historical accounts or analysis of change over time. Gaddis (2002) notes that history as a discipline can only function from a distance as the existence of long term trends, which are crucial to historical analysis, are often not visible in the present.

Critical approaches

In the evaluation of material for exploration in this thesis it has been necessary to examine its intended audience and the conceptual framework which it draws on, either deliberately or subconsciously. The motivations of the author and the context the material was created which need to be recognised in the analysis of its content. Gaddis (2002) notes that all interpretation is carried out for a particular purpose. For example, an academic article written by an author working within the discipline of museology, in general unquestioningly accepts the concept of the preservation of heritage, all that is questioned is whether a particular object is worthy of that designation. The same examination written from the perspective of the critical study of heritage would also evaluate the place which the heritage being examined occupied within society.

4.5 Researcher as insider or outsider?

Martin (2003) identifies an ‘Antarctic community’ within New Zealand. She describes this community as one with a strong academic component. In the course of my research for this thesis it became evident that there are a number of maritime communities in New Zealand. Some of these are geographically defined, for example those who engage with the sea (or other body of water, see chapter 5) in a particular region. Others can be described as thematic communities, for example those who have been to sea with a particular shipping company or those who were involved in the crayfish boom in the Chatham Islands (Johnson & Haworth, 2004). Although membership of communities is pluralistic and overlapping, insider and outsider status does exist. Membership of communities is often signified by shared stories or anecdotes, by telling a story about one’s experiences, so that they can be weighed against the stories of another person’s communities to judge how they compare.

Laurier (1998) that observed the way in which stories are told offer explanations or justifications of how and why the teller is part of the activity which they are engaging with.

Researching in an environment with both academic and non academic participants needs to recognise the existence of inherent power relationships (Valentine, 2005). These relationships were complex as my intention was to obtain material to use within a theoretical study. This had the potential to create an imbalance of power where the interviewee did not understand the purpose for which the information was being gathered. This was overcome by explaining the research topic more fully before commencing each interview. The balance of knowledge and power within each interview was complex as those who were being interviewed had in most cases extensive knowledge, not only in their areas of professional expertise but in broader maritime and heritage fields.

As a researcher I was viewing the maritime world through a different lens to most people who work in it. While I was conducting interviews with some of those working in the industry this difference in perspective became clear to the interviewees. This did not result in any hostility towards me as a researcher, rather a bemusement that the parts of their operations I was asking them about were of any interest to someone not directly involved. This was amplified as my research concerned both the theory and practicality of history and heritage but not necessarily about the content of their specific stories.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the methodological approaches to the examination of maritime heritage. The necessity of employing a wide range of methodological tools and perspectives in order to respond to the opportunities and challenges present within each case study as well as in the study area as a whole has been emphasised. The position of the researcher within the research has been considered in order to add insight to the investigation of the context in which maritime heritage in New Zealand exists. The placing of this potentially mobile heritage is explored in the following chapter.

Chapter 5:

Anchored or not: the mobility of heritage

5.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the context in which maritime heritage is placed in Aotearoa/ New Zealand and the way in which members of the public can interact with maritime activity. From this basis, investigation follows on how aspects of the maritime past are constructed as heritage. The relationship between the inland lakes and rivers of Aotearoa/ New Zealand and the coast is also considered as well as the role of mobility and place attachment in maritime heritage. The chapter then examines the construction of heritage through the gathering and interpreting of artefacts in a museum.

The following chapters draw extensively on the discussion of the nature of heritage in Chapters 2 and 3. The analysis of these concepts and debates is continued in the light of the fieldwork undertaken. Where the conceptual nature of heritage is not being explicitly discussed, the label of heritage is applied to artefacts and sites for the purpose of identifying them as examples of the artefacts around which debates about heritage revolve, rather than as an unquestioning acceptance of their heritage value.

5.2 Public interaction

In the past New Zealand was more reliant on the sea and inland waterways for transport as the topography and vegetation of the country inhibited the growth of road and rail in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Since then there has been an increasing movement towards first rail, and then road, as the dominant form of transport (Watson, 1996). Regular commercial maritime passenger transport, is now mainly limited to short ferry trips and the Cook Strait ferries. The only exceptions to this are the ferry and barge routes to the outer Islands in the Hauraki Gulf, although these islands are also serviced by aircraft. This normality of road access was demonstrated while on fieldwork onboard the TSS *Earnslaw* where several passengers were overheard referring to Walter Peak Station as an island, as it was being approached by water rather than by road.

International travel was until the post war period exclusively by sea; however aircraft have played an increasingly dominant role. It is now difficult to find information about travel to or from New Zealand as a passenger on a ship, apart from package holidays on a cruise ship.

Transport by sea is still the dominant means of transport for goods imported and exported from New Zealand. In the year to June 2005 maritime trade accounted for 99.5 per cent of New Zealand's imports and exports by volume, which amounts to over 40 million tonnes (Trost, 2005). However the loading and unloading of cargo in ports is carried out behind large security fences (figure 5.1), initially using the rationale of safety, but increasingly to meet overseas demands for security measures considered to be necessary to combat terrorism. Operational ports have become areas which can only be observed from a distance, or occasionally in officially sanctioned ways through open days (figure 5.2) or vicariously through magazine articles such as Yarwood's (2003) report on a day spent with employees of Ports of Auckland Limited. The location of maritime heritage at the periphery is through an increasing lack of engagement with contemporary maritime activity. The reasoning behind this exclusion will be discussed further in Chapter 6.



Figure 5.1: Port security fence at Lyttelton



Figure 5.2: Helicopter rescue demonstration at Lyttelton Port Open Day 2005

A flippant line by O'Regan (2005) that the Pacific Ocean meant two in-flight movies on an aeroplane flight to Disneyland resonated with a number of practitioners working in maritime museums and the comment, was referred to by subsequent speakers at the International Congress of Maritime Museums Conference. Similar sentiment is also frequently expressed in Britain (Grey, 2005; Reily, 2005) and the United States of America (Neill, 2005, 2006).

The awareness of an increasingly peripheral interaction with commercial maritime activity is juxtaposed with a continuing significant recreational, and residential interaction with New Zealand's coast and inland waters. Day and Lunn (2003) identify a rhetorical expression of a close cultural relationship with the sea in Britain. This sentiment is also expressed in Aotearoa/ New Zealand. An affinity with the sea is often claimed in a 'quasi-biological' manner, using statements which emphasise that New Zealand is an 'island nation', and asserting that 'it's in our blood' (Day & Lunn, 2003: 300). The imagery of the coast and maritime activity is often used in advertising to imply freedom. This can be found in the marketing of a wide variety of products, including those with little obvious visible connection to maritime activity, such as banking. Kiwi bank (2006) uses proximity to the coast throughout the country as a metaphor for the accessibility of their bank's services.

Awareness and interest in heritage and maritime heritage are at times briefly raised by high profile events such as the challenges for and the defence of the America's Cup, first (1996) visit of the replica of the H.M. Bark *Endeavour* and the television series Captains Log (Everton, 2001) and Colonial House (Crerar, 2002). The opportunity to examine this phenomenon was considered early in the research for this thesis, in relation to the advance publicity for the series 'What lies beneath', a series on archaeology, including a programme on the excavation and preservation of a ship in central Wellington (the *Inconstant*, better known as 'Plimmer's Ark'). However this was not possible as the series was screened between Christmas 2005 and New Year 2006 in the afternoon, a time of low television audiences. There was also little advertisement of the screening times of the series (Agnew, 2006). These programming decisions show that although there was sufficient interest for the series to be made it was not considered to be of enough interest to be screened at a more popular time.

Maritime symbolism is far more present in the public eye than sites and artefacts which are labelled as maritime heritage. Life rings, anchors and lighthouses, along with shells, have become used as interior decorating and advertising motifs, subject to the vagaries of style and fashion (anon, 2003; House Parts, 2003). The fieldwork work carried out for this thesis has revealed that maritime symbolism is not limited to the coast or maritime activity.

5.3 Does salinity define what is maritime?

The definition of maritime was introduced in Chapter 1. The term comes from the Latin for the sea. As this thesis examines the context in which maritime heritage exists it is necessary to examine the definition of the term more closely, from a cultural rather than an etymological perspective. The lakes and rivers of Aotearoa/ New Zealand have in the past also provided significant transport corridors to and within inland areas. The largest inland settlements in the country are sited on the shores of lakes and rivers. Although the significance of lakes and rivers for transport has diminished, but it has not been completely eclipsed by the development of the road network.

Westerdahl (2003) examines the existence of maritime cultures in inland lakes in Sweden. His findings were that aspects of his conception of maritime culture were present in the lakes he studied, evidenced by both built objects in the landscape, the presence of similar industries as were found at the coast in that location and similar cultural practices, were present in the lakes he studied. He notes that both the similarities and differences of the culture were important in analysing the extent of maritime culture. This was expressed in the way in which elements which he identified as maritime were interlinked with practices and objects he considered typical of the wider landscape and culture in which the lake was located. This thesis suggests that from a heritage perspective large lakes and rivers can be viewed in the same way as small former coastal trading ports, where recreation, tourism, and in some cases, fishing has led to continued interaction with the body of water.

In addition the interaction of maritime activity and the hinterland which surrounds a port to produce a culture which is unique to that place is in no way confined to inland waterways, or to maritime culture. It is a universal trend, which can be observed when a broader system interacts with a number of spatially separated communities, such as the identities of schools which teach the same curriculum, but are located in different communities. This interaction is integral in the production of local identity in a wide variety of fields. The resultant identity in maritime cultures is particularly evident and further highlights the global mobility and transmission of technology, people, and cultural practices.

This thesis examined the operation of the TSS *Earnslaw* on Lake Wakatipu in Central Otago (figure 5.3) to investigate the similarities and differences between the operation of a passenger vessel promoted as a heritage attraction on an inland lake to the presentation of maritime heritage at the coast. The town of Queenstown, along with stations on the lake shore were dependent on access by boat, from the rail terminus at Kingston until the opening of roads to Queenstown and around parts of the lake in the 1960s (Johns, 2005). The TSS *Earnslaw*, often referred to as the ‘lady of the lake’ is the last of a number of steamships which provided transport for people, goods and stock around the shores of Lake Wakatipu. She was operated by New Zealand Rail until she was taken over by her present operator, Fiordland Travel (now marketed as

Real Journeys) in 1969, after an abortive preservation attempt by a group of enthusiasts (McQuilkin, 2005).

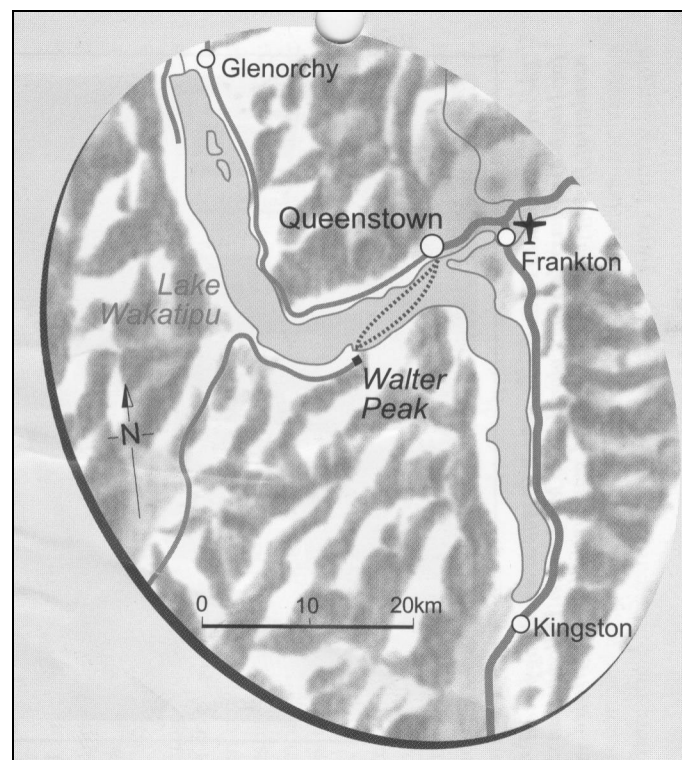


Figure 5.3 Location map of sites on Lake Wakatipu. The dotted line across the lake is the route taken by the TSS *Earnslaw* (Real Journeys, nd-b)

Fiordland Travel over time has developed a new use for the vessel running cruises across the lake to Walter Peak Station (figure 5.4). At this station the homestead on the lakeshore has been rebuilt to accommodate farm tours and dining. The combining of these two products, a steamship and a farm tour, illustrates the interlinking of differing heritages to produce a local experience. In this case, it is one which is marketable to a global audience. Cruises to Kingston at the southern end of Lake Wakatipu which linked with the Kingston Flyer, a steam train which operates on part of its former route, which provided access to Queenstown, were discontinued. Although these trips were ‘nostalgically great’ as they re-enacted the original use of the *Earnslaw*, they did not appeal to the mainly international tourists in Queenstown as the time commitment was too great (McQuilkin, 2005).



Figure 5.4: Walter Peak Station homestead

It is ironic that the same road, which changed the transport patterns in the area and made the *Earnslaw* redundant as a link between the rail head at Kingston and Queenstown, now allows coal to be carried to Queenstown by truck to enable the ship to carry out her bunkering at her berth in the town centre (McQuilkin, 2005)

The success of the shorter cruises on the *Earnslaw*, along with observations made on the vessel, indicate that it is the general experience rather than the specific details of the vessels past which are of interest. This observation was confirmed by Tracey Maclaren (2005), the General Manager of Real Journeys Queenstown operations who stated that their market research indicated that although the cruise was enjoyable for many passengers, especially those in organised groups, it was primarily a means of transport to the farm tour. The fo'c'sle which has been converted to a display area which details the history of the vessel was one of the least visited areas of the ship (figure 5.5). This is in contrast to the engine room, which has been modified to allow passengers to observe the stoking of the boilers and operation of the engines. Display panels have been added to explain the steam system (figure 5.6). This space in the ship is visited by many of the passengers. The emphasis on the marketing of heritage is also evident at the wharf where the *Earnslaw* is berthed (figure 5.7). Life boat are used davits to create a swinging seat on the wharf. The mast from the TSS *Ben Lomond* which was scuttled in the lake in the 1950s is given a prominent position. The building pictured is the 'Steamer Wharf' complex, a new wooden and stone building designed to give the appearance of age and connotations of heritage.



Figure 5.5: Historical display in the fo'c'sle of TSS *Earnslaw*



Figure 5.6: Interpretation panels set around the viewing opening in the engine room roof on the TSS *Earnslaw*

The farm tour at Walter Peak encourages structured participation in rural tasks such as feeding animals and the opportunity for participation is continued on the return journey with the use of a pianist to lead a 'sing-along'. The analysis of the content of the vessel's song book reveals strong English and American influences with many songs associated with World War Two, such as 'We'll meet again' and 'Pack up your troubles'. There are few specifically New Zealand songs (Real Journeys, nd-a). This is likely to be a reflection of where the company has found success in appealing to a market with a significant proportion of international customers. The commodification of

this experienced is taken further by the advertising of the availability of a recording of a sing-along for sale onboard (Purvis, nd) (figure 5.8).



Figure 5.7: Steamer Wharf, Queenstown with the TSS *Earnslaw* alongside



Figure 5.8: A sing-a-long on board TSS *Earnslaw*, note the brass plaque advertising the availability of a recording of a sing-a-long.

Although the most visible and well known, the *Earnslaw* does not sit in isolation as an object which can be viewed as having maritime connections. There are smaller vessels on the lake which can be chartered for cruises, in contrast to the jet boats which operate on the rivers which feed and drain the lake. There are also two restaurants which have adopted overtly maritime themes (figures 5.9 and 5.10). As the fieldwork in Queenstown was carried out during the winter it was not possible to

observe any seasonal interaction with the lake which may occur in summer as the focus of the town at that time was on the ski fields which provide its winter income.



Figure 5.9: Interior of Captain's Restaurant, The Mall, Queenstown



Figure 5.10: Exterior of HMS Britannia Restaurant and Bar, The Mall, Queenstown

While there is clearly a maritime influence in Queenstown, it is not the dominant influence on the town's identity as it is with many coastal towns. The interaction with maritime influences is one which emphasises the past, through the TSS *Earnslaw*, restaurants with a maritime theme, and a monument to Captain Robert Falcon Scott and his party (figure 5.11), and the present through canoe hire and jet boating. Maritime themes are both adapted to the local setting and aped for effect.

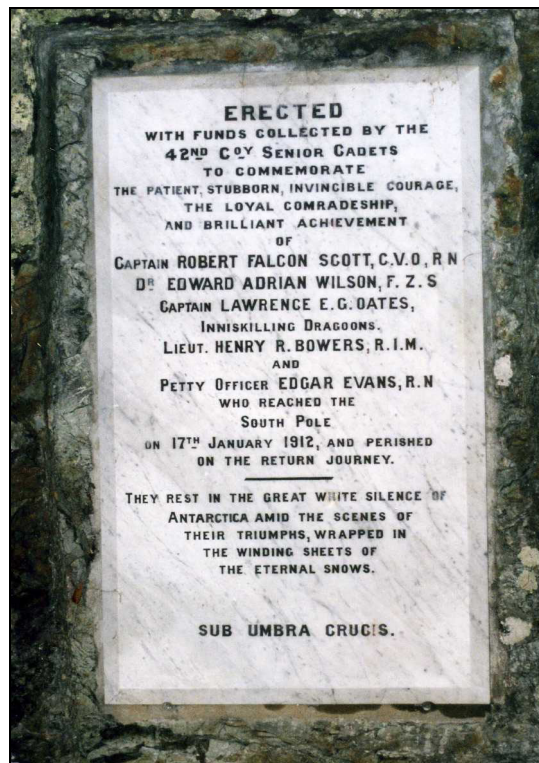


Figure 5.11: Memorial to those who died on Scott's Expedition to the South Pole, Queenstown Gardens. Information in the vicinity indicates that the memorial was erected as the 45th parallel of Latitude (the mid point between the Equator and Pole) passes through Queenstown

5.4 Mobility

Aside from salinity, one of the major differences between the investigation of a steamship operating on an alpine lake and the investigation of maritime heritage in a coastal setting is that the lake is essentially a closed system, whereas the coastline of Aotearoa/ New Zealand is a more open system which has potential for movement between ports on a global scale. The possibility of mobility, among many maritime artefacts is an important factor in the examination of maritime heritage. Indeed parts of maritime heritage have the potential to be continually mobile. This is in contrast to buildings where relocation, which when it occurs in order to preserve heritage, is perceived as an event which occurs as a last resort. The movement is followed by the relocation of the building in what is intended to be a new 'permanent' site. The validity of this practice as a means of preserving heritage is contested on a global scale, however it is more accepted in Aotearoa/ New Zealand in the light of the country's predominantly wooden architecture (see Chapter 3). Other forms of transport are, along with maritime heritage not often examined by those working in

the field of heritage, their study is often presumed to be within the realm of museology. This presumption also ignores the study of the embodiment of heritage values in the continued use of older forms of transport (The Transport Trust, nd).

5.5 Context of artefacts and sites

The global nature of maritime heritage was explored in Chapter 3. One example of this is the Australian built replica of HM Bark *Endeavour*. The original ship was used by the British naval explorer James Cook in the eighteenth century in many parts of the world. In each place the vessel visits she is interpreted differently, emphasising the connection of the original vessel and its expeditions to that part of the globe. In Lyttelton mention was made of the fact that Cook's expedition wrongly charted the high land mass they observed and named for Joseph Banks (a prominent scientist within the expedition) as an island rather than as a peninsula (Rice, 2004). This was one of only two easily visible major errors in Cook's charting of Aotearoa/ New Zealand (Robson, 2005). In the guide to the ship, however, it is the significance of the voyage to the nation as a whole which is emphasised along with information about the differences in construction between the two ships. (TVNZ [Television New Zealand], [1996]; H.M. Bark Endeavour Foundation, [1999]). It is interesting to note that the guide brochures offer information about the occupants of the various parts of the ship, through the inclusion of deck plans which reveal some detail about its social structure, rather than providing information about the operation of the rigging and sails of the ship. This reinforces the interpretation of the ship as a symbol of national heritage rather than as an example of sailing technology.

The combination of the printed material, the onboard guides and the prior experience of each of the 30,000 people who toured the ship over the course the ship's week long visit to Lyttelton in 1996 (Rice, 2004: 147) will have produced countless different impressions of the past and role of HM Bark *Endeavour* in the creation of a national and international heritage (figure 5.12). This illustrates the critical role played by interpretation in determining the context in which an artefact or site is located.



Figure 5.12: Part of the queue to tour HM Bark *Endeavour* in Lyttelton in early 1996 (Photo F J Teal)

5.6 Place attachment in maritime heritage

The *Endeavour* has been presented as a global heritage ‘space’ which does not necessarily belong to any particular ‘place’ (after Borovnik, 2004). However much maritime heritage is constructed through its identification and valuing at a smaller spatial scale. This section examines the mobility of heritage which has the potential to be perceived as the heritage of a specific place.

A key facet of the creation of heritage is the labelling of an artefact or site as a constituent part of that heritage. The role of the threat of destruction or change to an object in its classification as heritage has been discussed in Chapter 2. The value placed on artefacts is often reflected in the efforts made to retain, and often to restore them when such change is proposed. The methods employed to retain a site or artefacts are often dictated by the physical form of those items for which heritage value is claimed. This section examines the work carried out in the case studies selected in this thesis to retain heritage, both in its original physical context and by relocating it.

Chapter 3 examined the ability of existing literature to address the mobility of large objects which are cast as maritime heritage. The majority of the existing literature assumes that large items which contribute to a heritage landscape are static, barring

their demolition. Ships and smaller objects however are inherently mobile. A ship which is considered to be part of the heritage of one area can therefore be removed from that area (without its destruction) to another area. This brings into question many of the assumptions made in the literature about the relationship between people and heritage relating to identification with heritage being related to a specific place.

The movement between ports of a ship labelled as heritage can be for many reasons. These include the use of a ship as a museum exhibit, the sale of a vessel with a strong local ties for continued commercial use in another part of the world, and the sale of vessels to be used as heritage attractions are examined in conjunction with the retention of a ship as a working artefact in its original location. The vessels chosen explore these facets of the mobility of heritage are all formerly owned by the Lyttelton Harbour Board and its successor body the Lyttelton Port Company. The vessels which are profiled in this section are the Craneship *Rapaki*, the Dredges *Peraki* and *Te Whaka*, and the tugs TST *Lyttelton* TST *Lyttelton II*.

In 1993 *Rapaki* was sold to the New Zealand National Maritime Museum, and was towed to Auckland to serve as a stationary exhibition and breakwater to shelter smaller vessels in the Museum's floating collection (Rice, 2004) (Figure 5.13). This role sees the ship interpreted as an example of steam technology, with an explanation of her role in Lyttelton and also in the Pacific Islands during World War Two (Figure 5.14).



Figure 5.13: The Craneship *Rapaki*
at the New Zealand National Maritime Museum, Auckland

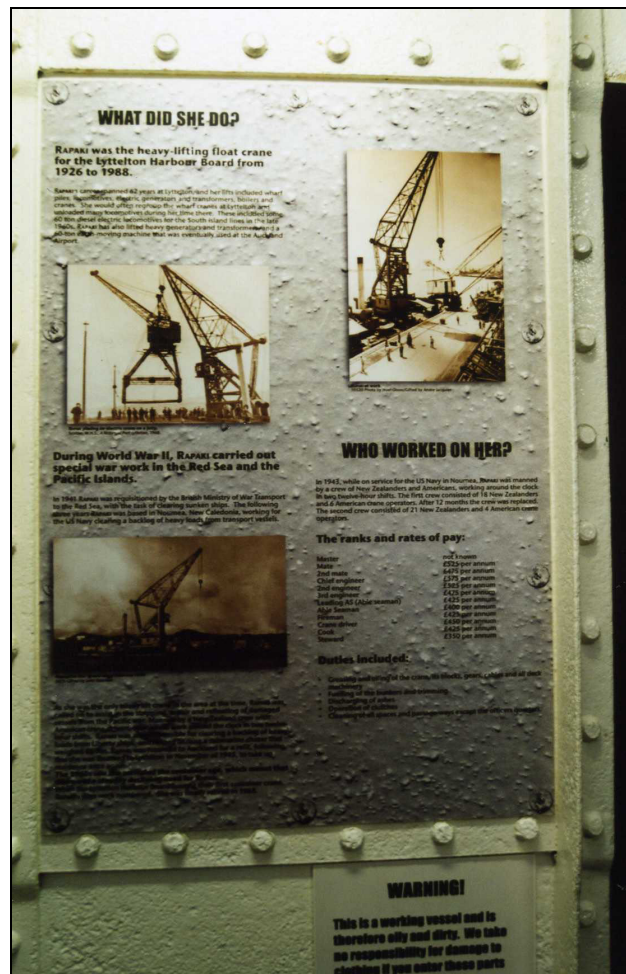


Figure 5.14: Detail from the display material aboard *Rapaki*

The *Peraki* was sold in 2001 when the port company moved from owning its own dredge to putting the work up for tender. She was towed to Manila to continue being used as a dredge with the new name of *Angelita IV* (Pryce, 2001). This changes the role played by the *Peraki*. She is now part of the personal memories and stories of the port, much as ships which called regularly on trade routes are. Her local role is recorded through a model located in the Lyttelton Historical Society Museum. The other dredge, *Te Whaka*, was sold to an organisation variously known as the Te Whaka Maritime Heritage Trust and the Dunedin Steamship Project in 1994. This group had plans to convert her for use for passenger cruises on the Otago Harbour. This aim does not appear to have been achieved in the years since she left Lyttelton and she is laid up in Dunedin. Again the focus is on the ship as an example of technology, although the plans for the operation as a passenger carrying vessel have led the society to remove the ship's dredging crane (Museum of Wellington City and Sea, 2001; Clover, nd).

The practicalities of maintaining a steamship also impacted on the fourth ex Lyttelton Harbour Board vessel the TST *Lyttelton II* (built 1939), when she was replaced by more modern tugs in 1981. As the older TST *Lyttelton* (built 1907) was being operated by the Tug Lyttelton Preservation Society, there was no plan to retain her in Lyttelton. She was sold to a Sydney based preservation trust, and subsequently sold to the Melbourne based Bay Steamers Maritime Museum. This museum also operates the ST *Wattle*, a former Royal Australian Navy Tug. *Wattle* needs considerable work carried out on her in order to remain in use for charters and cruises. This has led the Bay Steamers Maritime Museum to offer the *Lyttelton II* for sale on its website (Andrews, 1984; Bay Steamers Maritime Museum, 2006).

The movement and retention of these vessels illustrates that although vessels are mobile they are connected to the places in which they have been based or have called at through the recollections of former crew and those who remember their presence in port. These personal memories are sometimes published and can be communicated to the wider community (Brasell & Fowke, 1991; Amodeo, 2004) as a representation of 'the way things were'.

Memories are also retained through collections of artefacts which are assembled and displayed. An example of this can be seen in the Deluxe Café and Bar in Lyttelton, the interior of this café are covered with maritime artefacts (figure 5.15), many of these are mementos left by the crew of ships visiting Lyttelton which have been customers of J. Voyce & Co, Ships Providore. This company is run by the same firm as the Deluxe and operates from the same premises. Collections such as this become viewed as heritage, linking the stories of the port and the ships which visit it.



Figure: 5.15: Interior of the Deluxe Café and Bar, London Street Lyttelton

The study of the different purposes which collections of maritime artefacts are given reveals much about the many layers on which heritage exists. The visual effect created through the informal telling of a local story in the Deluxe Café and Bar is similar to that achieved in the two restaurants in Queenstown discussed in section 5.3 and pictured in figures 5.9 and 5.10, where marketing forms the primary reason behind the collections. This example has examined the deposition of artefacts to tell a number of informal stories. Maritime artefacts are also gathered and formally interpreted for didactic purposes, this is discussed below.

5.7 Gathering the past

The relocation of heritage changes the way in which it is perceived. It is transformed from an element of a landscape, building, ship or machine to being an item of special note. The interaction which existed between the object and its setting is removed. When the item is relocated into a display setting the original context of the item is replaced with interpretation. This usually takes the form of a written label, but it is also achieved by placing the item in a setting where it is surrounded by other items which give it a meaning. The interpretation may either highlight the specific story of the item (figure 5.16) or the item may become generalised in a display which seeks to explain a wider theme (figure 5.17).



Figure 5.16: Interpretation panel on the keel of a half mould of the Whitbread round the world yacht race contender *Steinlager 2* attached to the exterior of the NZNMM.



Figure 5.17: Replica Chandlery in the 'Auckland 1866' gallery at the Auckland War Memorial Museum

The accessioning of an item into a museum's collections also carries with it the impression of permanence and preservation for posterity, both important factors in the creation of heritage. Museums are viewed both internally and by the public as places where items will be cared for in the long-term (Malmberg, 2003). Inclusion of an

artefact in the collections of a museum is seen as safeguarding it from the short-term political and economic motivations which may work against retention, particularly of large artefacts.

New Zealand National Maritime Museum (NZNMM)

This museum aims to tell the story of Aotearoa/ New Zealand as an island nation in the Pacific Ocean (Smith, 2005). The museum was included in this thesis to support the analysis of the mobility of heritage and applicability of much of the theoretical literature on heritage which conducts its analysis at the national scale. The presentation of a story with a vast geographic scale has led the museum to gather, and be given material, from around New Zealand, the Pacific and from further afield (Mackay, 1992). The balance between exploring broad themes and being a museum which exists in a particular place is a deliberate one. The museum is conscious of the need to show in its galleries, stories which have relevance to, and represent the whole country rather than just Auckland, where the bulk of those who donate items to the museum reside (New Zealand National Maritime Museum, 2005a; Robbins, 2005).

The difficulty of attracting artefacts which help to tell national stories from outside the Auckland region is illustrated by the decisions by a descendant of Joseph Day, to donate artefacts relating to his maritime career to the Sumner and Canterbury Museums (Morritt, 2006). Day was a long serving pilot for the Sumner Bar at the mouth of the Avon Heathcote Estuary. These rivers provided important which provided access to Christchurch by coastal trading vessels in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Day was also a boatbuilder and founding Coxswain of the Sumner Lifeboat. The article reporting on the donation stresses the importance of the story Day's career to local history, and the wish of the donor that his work be remembered through the artefacts, which will be placed on temporary display at the Canterbury Museum. Alternative arguments could be made for the use of the artefacts to help illustrate the broader story of the work of lifeboats around the coast of Aotearoa/ New Zealand in existence at the NZNMM. The *Rescue*, the first lifeboat stationed at Sumner is on display with information on Day's work. Museum staff mentioned that those who had been involved in maritime industries had often lived in a variety of places and that an item donated by a person living in Auckland often had

strong links to other parts of the country (Robbins, 2005; Spaseska Markovska, Spalding & Hall, 2005).

The museum comprises eighteen thematic galleries, a waterborne collection of vessels, a research facility and workshops. The themes of these galleries are set out in the museum's visitors guide (figure 5.18) The focus of the museum on telling stories, rather than on being a storehouse for objects situates the museum as a 'new generation' museum rather than on artefacts as is the case with a more traditional style of display (Wilson, 1993a; New Zealand National Maritime Museum, nd).

The centrality of interpretation to the presentation of heritage in the museum environment is visible when the display of similar objects in different museums is analysed. Figure 5.19 shows the presentation of a pacific canoe in the Auckland War Memorial Museum, where this vessel is used as a centrepiece for a display on the culture of a specific island group. It is set amongst items from that culture to demonstrate the place of the use of the sea in that society. This can be contrasted with figure 5.20. This shows the part of the pacific display at the NZNMM. In this display the water craft of a number of pacific peoples are presented in the same environment to enable the visitor to compare the construction techniques and style of these craft. Although a similar object is exhibited in each display the interpretation of that object differs and as a result a different heritage is created to serve the purposes of the museum. In the Auckland War Memorial Museum, many facets of a specific culture are shown to attempt to explain the way of life of the people of that island group. By contrast, in the NZNMM the commonalities and differences of a number of Pacific peoples' water craft are shown in order to help explain the Polynesian settlement of Aotearoa/ New Zealand.

Kia Ora. Welcome to the NZ National Maritime Museum. This map and brief introduction to each gallery will help you move around the museum. The numbers on the map match the numbers below.

New Zealand is a country with an exceptional history of maritime exploration and settlement. This museum presents New Zealand's maritime story to you in over 14 exhibition halls plus on-water heritage vessels. The Pride of Auckland yachts are also available for charter, please enquire at the Pride of Auckland office.

Entry is through the turnstile, we hope you enjoy your journey.

1. Pacific Discovery Theatre

New Zealand's maritime story begins here. Experience the arrival of the first colonising waka to our country. *TE WAKA: Our Great Journey* is a 10-minute wide-screen animated masterpiece, which tells the story of one of the most remarkable migrations in human history.

2. Entrance Gallery

This gallery is home to regularly changing exhibitions. While you are here take time to examine the mural timeline that runs the length of the wall.

3. Hawaiki

Early Polynesian voyagers extensively explored the Pacific area. In this hall you will find a huge range of canoes from Polynesia, Melanesia and Micronesia. Inside the canoe cabin at the entrance you can see some early Maori artefacts.

4. European Landfalls

This recreation of a British Admiralty room from the mid-eighteenth century houses information on the earliest European explorations to New Zealand.

5. Coastal Trade

Passenger and cargo shipping was essential in establishing New Zealand as a nation and linking it with the rest of the world. Beside the coastal shipping office is *REWA*, a genuine coastal cutter built in the 1890's.

6. Whaling

Through the doors and past the stairs you are now standing in front of a recreation of a whaling beach at Guards Bay, complete with 1800's whaleboat *TAINUI*. Don't miss the life-size sperm whale painted on the wall.

7. The Immigrants

Experience the conditions of our 1850's steerage cabin and compare this with the 1950's cabin next door.

8. Ferries

Ferry travel has been, and still is, an important part of travel within New Zealand, crossing rivers, lakes, harbours and the Cook Strait.

9. & 10 Hall of Yachting

Auckland certainly is the "city of sails" and here you can explore more about yachts and yachting exploits. Please move upstairs to see all of this display.

11. Edmiston Gallery of Maritime Art

Wander through this gallery and enjoy examples of maritime art, historic figureheads and stained glass windows from the seaman's chapel.

12. HMS ORPHEUS

This display commemorates the 1863 wreck of the warship *HMS ORPHEUS*, wrecked off the entrance to Manukau Harbour. This is New Zealand's worst maritime disaster. Learn why.

13. Summer Lifeboat

With our national focus on water and watersports, New Zealand has much need for rescue and lifesaving services.

14. Oceans Apart

This is a magnificent collection of model ocean-going ships that served New Zealand.

15. Beach Bach and Store

Beach holidays have always been a large part of the typical New Zealand holiday. Enjoy this 1960's display of *Kiwiana* and the view from the balcony over the Viaduct Basin.

16. Navigation

17. Fishing

18. Voices of the Past

Relax and enjoy as you listen to a selection of people share their maritime histories.

19. Outboard Motors

20. Waterborne Fleet

Don't overlook the Heritage vessels moored in the museum's marina; *TEO ASHBY*, sailing scow, is a working exhibit and operates a public sailing programme. Enquire at the ticket desk for times. *BREEZE* is a square rigged brigantine, and *SS PUKE* is reputedly New Zealand's oldest steamboat. *RAPAKI* is a 1927 steam crane and now spends her days as a breakwater to our marina and an exhibition area in her own right.

One last item to note as you leave is *KZ1* on her custom-built cradle outside the Museum entry.

We hope you have enjoyed visiting New Zealand's premier maritime museum. We look forward to seeing you again!

05/05

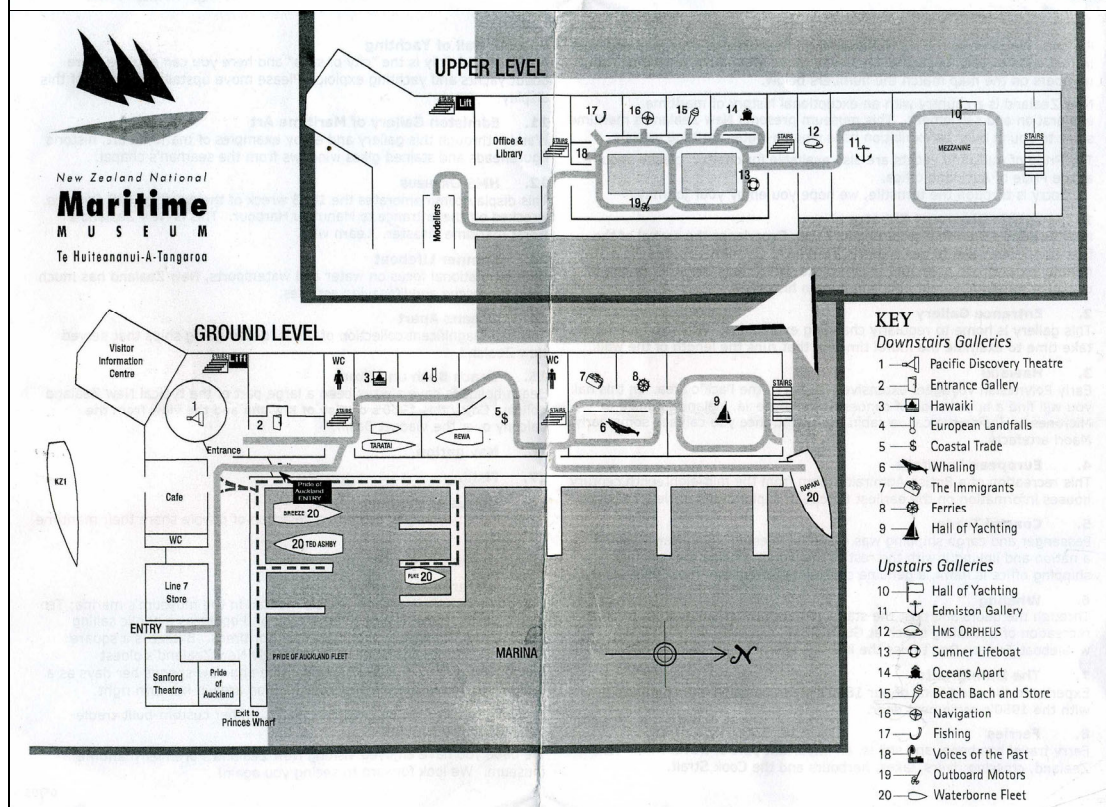


Figure 5.18: Visitors guide to the New Zealand National Maritime Museum (New Zealand National Maritime Museum, [2005])

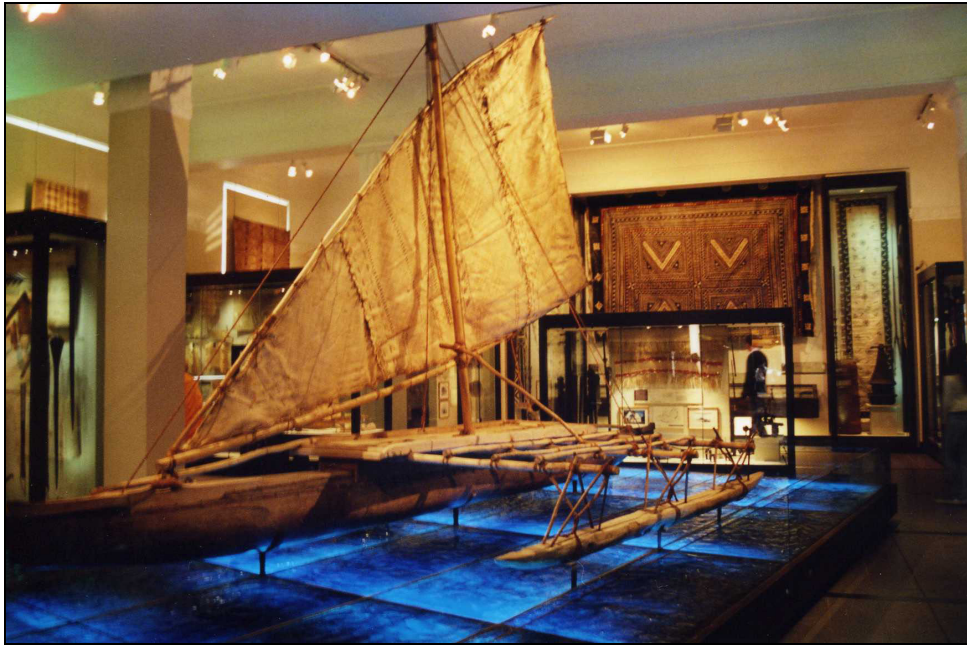


Figure 5.19: Pacific Island Canoe,
Pacific Lifeways Gallery, Auckland War Memorial Museum



Figure 5.20: Pacific watercraft, Hawaiki Gallery, NZNMM

Both the displays analysed above present watercraft as static objects. Other displays at the NZNMM attempt to give meaning to the artefacts by displaying them as floating exhibits, either permanently moored or as working vessels (labelled 20 in figure 5.17). The NZNMM has a floating collection which incorporates both new and preserved vessels. The *Ted Ashby* is a 12 year old vessel built in the style of the scows which traded on the Hauraki Gulf in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The museum made a deliberate decision to build a new vessel in a traditional style rather

than to restore an existing scow as any of the vessels of this type in existence would have required considerable expense and labour to bring them into service as an operable vessel. The result would probably have been a vessel with inherent structural weaknesses and a high maintenance requirement (Wilson, 1992). This did not fit the intended role of the vessel within the museum, namely to provide visitors to the museum with the opportunity to travel on a traditional sailing vessel as a passenger. The vessels at the NZNMM are presented as opportunities to experience the physical and sensory experience of sailing rather than as stepping back in time (see section on the experience of heritage in Chapter 3).

The NZNMM acts as a focal point at which groups and individuals who practise skills associated with the maritime past gather (Wilson, 1993b). As well as those interested in the use and construction of traditional vessels, the museum hosts model makers and is more loosely associated with the 'Maritime Crew' a group of performers of both traditional and newly written shanties and sea songs (Gilkison, 2005; The Maritime Crew, 2005). The involvement of maritime museums in collaborative creative projects is not unique to the NZNMM. A number of New Zealand poets and composer Jonathan Besser worked with the Museum of Wellington City and Sea to produce the 'Ringing in the Watches' exhibition in 2004. This exhibition toured the NZNMM in early 2005 (Besser *et. al.*, 2004; New Zealand National Maritime Museum, 2005b)

Multi-sensory display techniques are also used in the NZNMM's display on immigration. A representation of a steerage cabin is mounted on a (gently) rocking platform and the air conditioning in that display is treated with a fragrance formulated to give the impression of a damp and densely inhabited confined space on a ship. Museum staff explained that the original fragrance used in the exhibit was stronger, however it was modified as it was perceived to be 'too authentic' and had the potential to make visitors feel unwell (Spaseska Markovska *et al.*, 2005). This diminution of odour illustrates the discussion in Chapter 3 of the creation of a past which is acceptable to and fits the purposes of the present.

5.8 Conclusion

This chapter begins the specific examination of the context in which maritime heritage exists in Aotearoa/ New Zealand. It analyses the effect of the mobility of maritime heritage through the examination of the gathering artefacts and presenting them as representative of a national heritage. The inherent mobility of maritime heritage is considered, in contrast to the place specific conceptualisation of terrestrial heritage.

The existence and use of sites and objects in the landscape over time is the foundation on which heritage is built. This chapter has examined the way in which some parts of these parts of the landscape are identified as heritage and given status as representative of broader systems and localities through their display and interpretation. The creation of a controlled heritage environment in which objects are consciously preserved and presented means that they are interpreted differently to artefacts and sites which exist in the wider landscape.

The importance of the threat of destruction and change in the recognition of heritage is examined in the next chapter. This will also examine the complex relationships which exist between the perception of tangible and intangible parts of the past as heritage and the operation of maritime systems in the present in Aotearoa/ New Zealand. The chapter will also investigate the interaction between the maritime world and the communities and processes they interact with in relation to heritage.

Chapter 6:

‘Salt-caked smokestack’: Heritage in conflict

(Masefield, 1912)

6.1 Introduction

Masefield’s ‘Cargoes’, from which the title of this chapter is drawn refers to both the exotic and the mundane aspects of maritime trade. This chapter does likewise with maritime heritage. Two forms of conflict over heritage are examined. In the first section of the chapter the relationships between the operation of a commercial port and the identification with its past by the community which surround it are examined through a study of the port of Lyttelton. This section examines the conflict occurring when preservation and progress are presented as two opposing ideals. The second section of this chapter examines the conflict resulting from the desire of the NZNMM in Auckland and Real Journeys in Queenstown to continue to operate their coal fired steam vessels and the regulation and community response which surrounds the operation of obsolete technology, which produces environmental effects not considered acceptable in other circumstances. These two areas of investigation are prefaced by a broader examination of the potential for conflict in relation to maritime heritage and its location within the landscape.

Conflicted Concept

The concept of heritage which was examined in Chapters 2 and 3 is the result of a relationship formed where an aspect of a person’s or group’s past is valued. This valuing of the past is often expressed through the desire to retain objects, buildings and sites which become the physical representations of the relationship with the past. As heritage is based on perception it is an inherently contested concept. This forms the basis for much of the theoretical examination of heritage such as Tunbridge and Ashworth’s (1996) concept of heritage dissonance. This concept fits well with the maritime landscape in Aotearoa/ New Zealand as the expression of heritage values do not always fit with the operation of other processes in the maritime environment.

The maritime environment is hugely dependent on landform, with a small proportion of the coast being suitable for commercial use. Therefore the sites proposed for the development of new facilities are frequently sites which have been used for maritime

activity in the past. Where that site is viewed as heritage the use of that site becomes contested. In this chapter the interplay between selected sites, objects and activities is examined in relation to the processes which both conflict with and support them. Conflict can also arise between natural processes and the development of facilities in the maritime environment (Loomb, 2006).

The desire to preserve heritage is a selective ambition. In this chapter it is shown that where heritage value is not attributed to an object or practise their presence can be seen to be intrusive or unwelcome. This section focuses on the relationship between maritime processes and heritage. It shows that conflict between maritime heritage and other uses of the maritime environment can occur in a variety of ways. Those promoting maritime heritage can be both causative of conflict, and in a reactionary role, seeking to halt proposed changes.

Heritage at the periphery

Ports and coasts have traditionally been regarded as being on the periphery of society as well as land masses. The popular notion of the beach and bach or crib in New Zealand society is about escaping from everyday pressures (Male, 2003). They have been perceived as potentially dangerous areas both environmentally (Water Safety New Zealand, 2006) and socially (Conradson, 1996). The image of ports on the periphery has been in part due to the presence of 'rough' sailors (Atkinson, 2001). The reasoning which underpins this image has been modified by changing global shipping patterns. Until the advent of containerisation there were large numbers of predominantly British sailors with long periods of time ashore, in waterfront pubs and bars, while their ships were unloaded and loaded (see below for other impacts in this change in cargo handling). Container ships have smaller crews and the time they spend in ports is measured in days rather than weeks. These have now been replaced by the crews of fishing trawlers from the coastal nations of the former Soviet Union and south-east Asia as the dominant group of seafarers in New Zealand ports. The image of and continued curiosity about ports as rough, and more recently foreign places continues today and is exemplified in the article 'Over the Hill' in Air New Zealand Magazine (Rewi, 2006). In Lyttelton this atmosphere is emphasised by the separation of the port from the city of Christchurch by the Port Hills.

6.2 Preservation or Progress: a port in conflict

New Zealand's major ports are controlled by port companies. These companies are at present all owned either by local government or are listed on the New Zealand Stock Exchange. They were created during the local government reforms of 1989 and are the result of a free market ideology which rejected the involvement of government in the operation of commercial entities. The result was the creation of companies with a mandate to operate based on economic motives (Memon *et al.*, 2004). The governance function which had been combined with the operation of the port facilities was separated out and assigned to newly created Regional Councils (see Chapter 3). In Lyttelton this change in operational structure prompted the disposal of vessels which is examined in Chapter 5.

Shipping patterns and the technology required to handle cargo have changed considerably since the mid nineteenth century when cargo and passengers began to move through the port of Lyttelton. The changes in the infrastructure of the port have meant that the area on the waterfront which contains many sites and objects viewed as heritage is also needed for day to day port operations. These two functions do not always sit easily together and the resultant conflict is exacerbated due to Lyttelton's topography. What little flat land there is on the steep sides of the volcanic crater been claimed early in the European settlement of the area for housing and commercial premises to create the town of Lyttelton. The relationship of the port and town of Lyttelton is shown in figure 6.1

The Lyttelton Port Company is often cast as the villain in relation to access to the port and maritime heritage. The company's response to this ill feeling in the community is to assert that they are trying to operate a modern port within the constraints of the an area designed piecemeal over time which retains many structures designed for nineteenth century sailing ships rather than modern vessels (Aldworth, 2005). This comment on the constraints imposed by the physical form of the port is echoed internationally Jackson's (1983) profile of the development of ports in Great Britain where in many cases older enclosed docks, of which the Inner Harbour at Lyttelton is a small example, have usually been abandoned in the transition to container based trade. This has occurred to some extent with the construction of Cashin Quay in the

1960s, however the lack of flat land in the port, the cost of developing new facilities with deep enough water to accommodate ocean going vessels and the increasing importance of fishing vessels to the port has meant that the Inner Harbour has been retained as a part of the commercial operation of the port, unlike many other areas where similar docks have been abandoned and then later been redeveloped for other, usually commercial or residential purposes (Atkinson *et al.*, 2002; Oakley, 2005)



Figure 6.1: Aerial photograph of Lyttelton
Annotations: 1-Inner Harbour, 2-Location of 'A' and 'B' Jetties,
3- Pilgrims' Rock, 4-Railway Signal Box, 5- Mouth of Rail Tunnel,
6-Inner Harbour Pile Moorings, 7- Lyttelton, Marina Bay
(base photograph from MetaMedia Ltd., 2003)

Displacement of heritage

Maritime heritage in Lyttelton is mobile (see Chapter 5), and this mobility applies even to those items which are apparently fixed in place. In 1934 a rock was placed on the waterfront as a memorial to 'The Canterbury Pilgrims', those who arrived in Lyttelton throughout 1850-51 in 20 vessels as part of the Canterbury Association Settlement. This rock was moved in 1990, to a newly created precinct next to the base of the over-bridge into the port (figure 6.2). The plaque, attached to the base of the rock, explains its repositioning and indicates that the reason for this move is historical accuracy, closer to the former shoreline. However Bundy (2006), and the observation of the current usage of the area (figure 6.3) indicate that the relocation was also for

more pragmatic reasons. The former railway land on which the memorial was located had become potentially useful to the port as an area of otherwise scarce flat land. Like the Pilgrims' Rock in Plymouth (USA) studied by Lowenthal the Pilgrims' Rock in Lyttelton has become the site on which the 'pilgrims ought to have stepped ashore' (1998: 139). This is reinforced by the adjacent painting of a mural of a jetty, cottage and anchored sailing ship, complete with people in period costume. This scene is viewed through stone arches, painted to match the surrounds of the 'historic precinct' in which the rock was located and to disguise the concrete side of the over bridge (figure 6.4). The original open site of the rock in the landscape has become an enclosed and contained area.



Figure 6.2: Pilgrims' Rock Precinct, Lyttelton



Figure 6.3: Former location of Pilgrims' Rock
(approximate site indicated by red circle)



Figure 6.4: Mural painted beside Pilgrims' Rock

Sites of commemoration in the landscape are often associated with acts of remembrance. The photograph included as figure 6.2 was taken on 16 December, the anniversary of the arrival of the first of the Canterbury Association's settlers on the *Charlotte Jane*. This wreath, the flying of the house flag of that ship at the Lyttelton Historical Society Museum and Timeball Station and a symbolic walk over the Bridle Path taken by those immigrants are the only visible local celebrations of the province's anniversary day. This is due to the transference of the provincial holiday

associated with the event to a Friday in mid November, creating a holiday more widely known as Show Weekend after the Agricultural and Pastoral Show held at that time.

The relocation of heritage discussed above is not unique. The Victorian Railway Signal Box was moved from the mouth of the rail tunnel to a more convenient location opposite the Lyttelton Museum. Plaques commemorating the port's links with the exploration of the Antarctic were moved from the pillars of the harbour bridge when security fencing cut off access to them. They are now mounted on a moveable stand made from recycled wharf and dry dock parts, and placed next to 'A' and 'B' Jetties which are used as the ferry and harbour cruise terminus (figure 6.5). These jetties have since been replaced with 'temporary' floating jetties after being condemned as structurally unsound (figure 6.6). This is viewed by some in the community as part of a plan to remove public access to the Inner Harbour (Morritt, 2004). The importance of access to the Inner Harbour as a means of claiming the past of the port as a heritage which belongs to the wider community is discussed below.



Figure 6.5: Plaques commemorating Lyttelton's Links to Antarctic Exploration



Figure 6.6: Demolition of 'A' Jetty, Lyttelton

The flexibility with which seemingly place-specific commemorations of past events are approached reveals much about the value of heritage to those managing the port. Heritage is also presented as inhibiting progress. The Pile Moorings for recreational vessels in the Inner Harbour (figure 6.7) have been the subject of attempts by the Lyttelton Port Company to have them removed to enable the redevelopment of the western end of the Inner Harbour for cargo handling and storage (Rice, 2004). Use of the western end Inner Harbour for mooring recreational vessels is longstanding, and is related to the proximity to the premises of shipwrights and marine engineering works. The plan for the removal of recreational craft from the Inner Harbour included the sudden demolition of the Banks Peninsula Cruising Club's headquarters in 1999 (figure 6.8) and the termination of boat owners leases of these moorings. Surprise and anger at the demolition of the Cruising Club's headquarters was heightened as the building was designed by Peter Bevan, a notable Christchurch architect. This created conflict between yacht owners and the Port Company which led to an Environment Court case which resulted in the retention of the piles. However perhaps the more decisive factor in the retention of the use of the piles was the destruction of the marina, along with several vessels moored in it, which was under construction west of the Inner Harbour near Magazine Bay (figure 6.9).



Figure 6.7: Inner Harbour Pile Moorings, Lyttelton

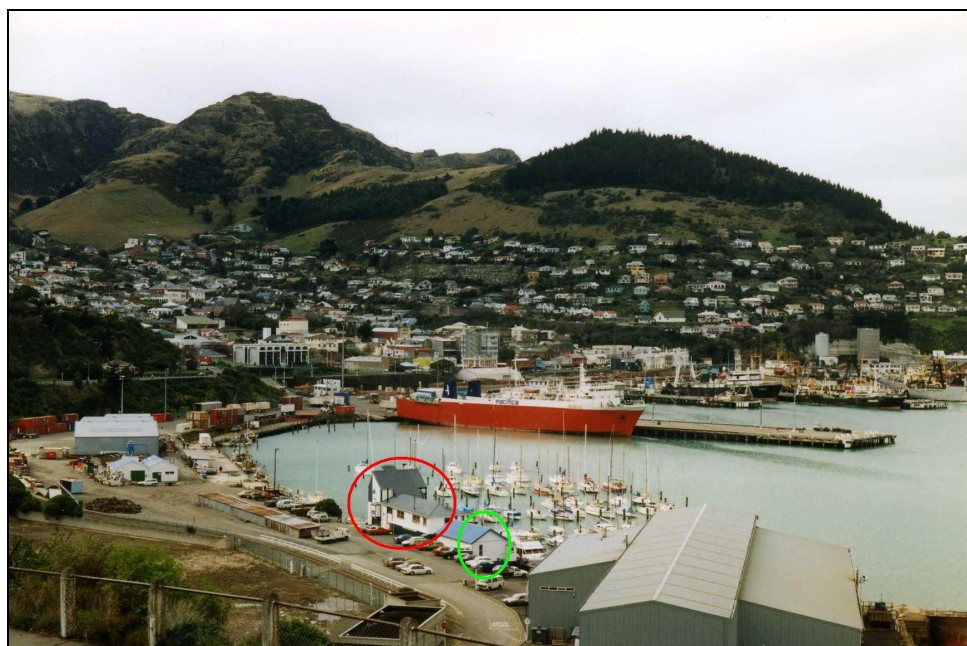


Figure 6.8: Western end of Inner Harbour before the demolition of the Banks Peninsula Cruising Club building (outlined in Red). It also shows the old Sea Scout Hall (outlined in Green) (Photo: F J Teal)



Figure 6.9: Partially completed marina at Magazine Bay being destroyed by a storm, October 2000 (Photo: J Lilley)

The wharf on which the Banks Peninsula Cruising Club building had been located was recently declared unsound and fenced off. After the demolition of the Cruising Club building this wharf had been used as a berth for Canterbury Volunteer Coastguard's offshore rescue vessel and has the former Lyttelton Sea Scout Hall located on it (figure 6.8). The Sea Scout Group had been relocated to a site near the marina in 1990. Prior to the wharf being condemned this building was used intermittently for teaching maritime training courses and had recently been occupied by a group disaffected with the Naval Point Yacht Club⁵. Plans to resume work on the marina through a partnership between a private marina developer (the Covington Group) and the Christchurch City Council are in the initial stages of preparation and will be released for public submissions in mid 2006 (Scott, 2006). Access to the Inner Harbour has been discussed above in relation to the use of the area for recreation and in relation to access to the ferry terminus. The chapter now examines access to the Port of Lyttelton more broadly.

⁵ This yacht club was formed in 2001 as a result of a merger of the Canterbury Yacht and Motor Boat Club and the Banks Peninsula Cruising Club after the demolition of the Cruising Club's building (Naval Point Club Lyttelton, 2006)

Access

The ability to enter the port area of Lyttelton has been an area of longstanding conflict between the Port Company and the residents of Lyttelton. Prior to the mid 1990s there was relatively free access to the wharves with access restricted only to the Cashin Quay container terminal and to wharves where cargo was being moved. However this began to change, in the light of the Health and Safety in Employment Act 1992, and as the result of an accident where a child was killed on the wharf after reaching between a ship and the wharf to retrieve a balloon. Access was further restricted following the terrorist attacks on the United States of America in 2001. The introduction of the International Shipping and Port Security Code has resulted in much more stringent security and the almost complete restriction of public access to the working areas of the port, by land (figure 6.10).

Access to the wharves has been claimed as part of the community of Lyttelton's heritage. The ability to exercise that heritage has been reduced by the Port Company in response to wider pressures and changes in operational practices. The conflict resulting from this restriction of heritage and the commercial model under which the port is regulated has led to mistrust and conflict between port and community. When there was freer access to the Inner Harbour the area was regarded as an extension of the town, Norris (2006) writes about the integration of port and town in relation to celebrations at new year. Walking on the large flat spaces of the wharves, especially for those with push chairs, and fishing in the harbour were popular everyday pastimes, however swimming from the wharves had become less popular over time as the water quality in the Inner Harbour deteriorated. The wider Canterbury and South Island population also had links to the Lyttelton wharves, in the past, through its role as the southern end of the Inter-Island Ferry Service which saw regular passenger movements through the port. The erection of a barrier between the port and the town was, and is resented by the community.

Recreational fishing has been relocated out of the Inner Harbour. A fishing jetty was constructed on the edge of the oil storage tank farm to the west of the Inner Harbour. Access to this jetty has been reduced with the blocking of the sealed road leading to the entrance to the inner harbour by security fencing and is now via a rough gravel access way with no signage.



Figure 6.10: View of port from Norwich Quay, Lyttelton.

A New Heritage?

The Port company have deliberately attempted to create a new tradition (Massey, 1995) of port access through the annual ‘harbourfest’ (figure 6.11) This controlled access to the port is designed to be a public spectacle. It incorporates ship tours with entertainment and transport to the port by train, the main means of accessing the port before the opening of the road tunnel. This creates a feeling of nostalgia among those who used to travel to Lyttelton by this route and as a chance to do something unusual by those who did not. The establishment of the port as a temporary visitor attraction, with its attendant noise and traffic congestion, has the potential to isolate and antagonise those to whom the port is a part of everyday life, either through active engagement or passive observation.

The same feelings arise from publicised cruise ship visits. These ships often pass relatively unnoticed by residents, as they occur most weeks in summer (23 visits in the 2004-05 year (Lyttelton Port Company, 2005)) but are seen as attractions by those living outside the port to the extent that a local charter firm offer cruises to see them enter or depart the harbour (Sea Cruises Ltd, 2005) (figure 6.12). Again nostalgia and romanticism for an earlier age where travel by ship was more common forms part of the appeal of visiting the port while cruise ships are berthed. The vicarious desire to observe luxury, albeit from afar, also attracts visitors to attempt to view the cruise ships as closely as possible.



Figure 6.11: Lyttelton Port Company 'Harbourfest' 2002 (Photo J Lilley)



Figure 6.12: Cruise ship moored in Inner Harbour

The examples discussed here mirror the trends discussed in general terms by Memon *et al.* (2004) where the social responsibility functions held by harbour boards prior to the establishment of a solely commercial port management structure have not been replaced and as a result there has been little protection for those who seek to use port areas in ways which conflict with the transport of cargo.

Concerns about access and the ability of the community to have input into the operation of the port are at present heightened by the proposal of the port's major shareholder Christchurch City Holdings Limited (the Christchurch City Council's investment company) to purchase the Lyttelton Port Company in its entirety and then on sell 49.9 per cent of the company to Hutchison Port Holdings, a Hong Kong based port developer (Claridge, 2006). The debate over the sale has to date focussed on the economic arguments about foreign ownership. The concept of the port as heritage had not entered the discourse at the time of writing.

In chapters 2 and 3 of this thesis the nostalgic construction of a past which is portrayed to have been more stable and 'better' than the present is discussed. Some commentators both within maritime industries such as Atkinson (2001) and Makarios (1996), and within port communities, often in less formal ways such as the letters columns of local papers, have adopted this approach to the maritime past. Amodeo (2005a) in his review of Rice's Lyttelton: Port and Town An Illustrated History (2004) mentions sites and activities which are no longer part of the port landscape such as the Lyttelton- Wellington Inter-Island Ferry. However this same author, in his history of Lyttelton Engineering (2004) makes it clear that the past is not always better than the present, highlighting the localised air pollution from the concentrated use of coal both in the port to fuel ships and for domestic use in the town, the condition of the water of the Inner Harbour and work practices now deemed unsafe.

Demolition

The topography of the Lyttelton Harbour basin, coupled with the desire of the port to acquire more flat land for cargo storage, and the changing nature of cargo storage has led to the demolition of several buildings of a style which are promoted as part of the heritage of other ports in New Zealand such as Wellington, Oamaru and more recently Auckland (Britomart Development). Large storage buildings and imposing office

buildings once used by shipping companies and other maritime businesses also form the basis of most waterfront redevelopment projects overseas.

In Lyttelton this large scale demolition occurred since the 1970s. There has been little formal recognition of industrial heritage in Lyttelton. Rice (2004) notes that there was opposition to the demolition of many buildings, however there were no effective means for those who wished the buildings to be preserved to employ to stop their demolition. The demolition of buildings has continued to the present day with the replacement of the last of the old waterfront storage sheds (figure 6.12) with a new garage on the same location in 2004 (figure 6.10). The purchase of New Zealand Express, a Christchurch freight company with a large depot with road and rail links to the port, by the port company, indicates that they foresee that there is little more land available to them in Lyttelton.



Figure 6.13: The last of the waterfront storage sheds being demolished in 2004

The role of topography in shaping the development of is aspect of Lyttelton's development cannot be understated. Most ports which have been redeveloped as waterfront housing and office space have been located in cities, often near their centres. As a town which is separated from the city of Christchurch by the Port hills and several kilometres of low density suburban housing Lyttelton does not have the same demand for apartment style housing. It is interesting to note that apartments

have been proposed as a central aspect of the redevelopment of the Lyttelton Marina. The appeal of living in an industrial area adjacent to a bulk oil and petroleum storage facility is one which baffles many local residents. One concept plan for the marina area has employed a style designed to be reminiscent of brick waterfront warehouses. Should this prove to be the style adopted it would be an interesting exercise in the invention of heritage as there are no longer any buildings of this nature in the port area, except for the pump house for the dry dock.

Reverse sensitivity

One of the concerns which was expressed by the Lyttelton Port Company was about the potential for restrictions to be placed on its operations due to its close proximity to the township (Aldworth, 2005). The imposition of reverse sensitivity, that is the impact on more recent uses of the area on those which predated them, is seen as threat to the operation of the port by its operators. There is currently a case before the Environment Court about the extent and nature of the proposed 'port zone' in the District Plan for Banks Peninsula. The Lyttelton Port Company argues that the zone is necessary to protect the ability of the port to operate efficiently. Several businesses and the local residents association argue that the proposed provisions of the District Plan restrict the growth and development of the town and give the Port Company too much control over several matters, including the remaining buildings on the seaward side of Norwich Quay which are now either leased or in private ownership. These buildings which have survived the Harbour Board and Port Company clearances for storage space are an important part of Lyttelton's story as they include the town's former Post Office and one of the earliest telegraph offices in New Zealand. The proposed inclusion of these buildings within the Port Zone, it is claimed would put them at greater risk of demolition, or restrict their use

6.3 All steamed up?

Concern over the operation of maritime processes by those who are in close proximity is not limited to the operation of ports. The NZNMM have found that the operation of their coal fired vessels is potentially problematic. The museum's marina is surrounded by shops, apartments, a hotel on Princes Wharf and is on the edges of the Viaduct Basin. Museum staff commented that the perception of waterfront living held by the

occupants of these buildings does not include the presence of coal smoke. The museum's steaming of the craneship *Rapaki* in 2001 resulted in complaints from neighbours and soot stains on surrounding buildings. This, in combination with the practicalities of moving large volumes of coal through the museum to reach the *Rapaki* have led to the 'live steam' project (Robbins, 2006). It is planned to install a small gas fired boiler to produce enough steam to demonstrate the operation of the vessel's machinery, without any load (and without coal smoke) whilst the vessel is moored in her permanent position (figure 6.14)



Figure 6.14: View from craneship *Rapaki* to apartments adjacent to NZNMM

The museum's small steamer *SS Puke* (figure 6.15), which is in more regular operation, is also influenced by the presence of surrounding buildings, particularly in relation to blowing off the pressure in the boiler at the end of the day, this procedure discharges a concentrated blast of smoke and steam. Therefore in deference to the museum's neighbours this is carried out in the middle of the marina, where the vessel

is further from the apartments, rather than at her berth. This requires that sufficient pressure is retained in order to return to the berth.



Figure 6.15: SS *Puke*, New Zealand National Maritime Museum Marina, Auckland

Both these vessels, along with the TST *Lyttelton* (figure 6.16), the dredge *Te Whaka* and other coal fired vessels not examined in this thesis operate in the coastal marine area. Discharges to air in this area are controlled by the Resource Management (Marine Pollution) Regulations 1998. Under these regulations discharges to air which are the result of the operation of a vessels propulsion systems or machinery are permitted (1998).



Figure 6.16: TST *Lyttelton* underway in the Inner Harbour

However the operation of the TSS *Earnslaw* falls outside the jurisdiction of these regulations. Discharges to air over Lake Wakatipu are controlled by the Otago Regional Air Plan (Otago Regional Council, 2003). Under this plan the discharge to

air resulting from the combustion of the coal necessary for the steaming of the *Earnslaw* is a discretionary activity. Because of this a Resource Consent is required from the Otago Regional Council for the vessel to operate (Hovell Environmental Planning, 2005; McQuilkin, 2005). Real Journeys has reduced the amount of smoke emitted from the vessel by the installation of a diesel generator to provide the ships electricity, replacing the steam powered generator used previously. Visual monitoring is also carried out from the engine room using a closed circuit television system with a camera focussing on the funnel (Hovell Environmental Planning, 2005; Moore-Carter, 2005).

The consent which Real Journeys held for this activity expired in mid 2005, therefore the company is in the process of renewing the consent (awaiting consideration April 2006). As this is a notified consent application it provided an opportunity to examine the relationship between the TSS *Earnslaw* and the community in which she is operated. The consultation undertaken on behalf of Real Journeys indicates support for the operation of the *Earnslaw* from the business which surround the wharves the ship uses on a daily basis. The summary of the submissions on the consent lodged with the Otago Regional Council (2005) shows three submissions in favour of granting the consent. These emphasise the importance of the ship to Queenstown. The submission from Public Health South comments favourably on the measures taken by Real Journeys to reduce the emissions from the vessel. The submission opposing the granting of the consent is on the grounds of the soot discharged from the vessel. This case study shows that the perception of the TSS *Earnslaw* as a part of the heritage of Queenstown and the Wakatipu Basin is not universal.

The *Earnslaw* has however been assigned heritage values several organisations. The Queenstown Lakes District Council in their District Plan (Mackay, 1999; Queenstown-Lakes District Council, 2004). The ship is registered as a Category One Historic Site by the New Zealand Historic Places Trust indicating that they regard the ship to be of 'special or outstanding historical or cultural heritage significance or value' (New Zealand Historic Places Trust, 2001). Recognition is also given to the ship as 'an important part of N.Z.'s engineering heritage' by the Institute of Professional Engineers New Zealand (figure 6.17). The statutory framework of Aotearoa/ New Zealand is such that the attribution of heritage value to the *Earnslaw*

does not set it apart from the standards by which modern activities are evaluated. The vessels existence as ‘one of the last coal-fired passenger steamers’ does not provide a guarantee the operation of the vessel. It must still be judged by its impact on the natural environment in the present. This dependence on regulatory approval is a source of frustration for the operators of the Earnslaw who perceive that a double standard is being applied; they are encouraged to maintain the ship as an asset to the region, and would be vilified if they did not but receive no assistance with the costs imposed on them to do so (McQuilkin, 2005).



Figure 6.17: Institute of Professional Engineers New Zealand
Plaque on TSS *Earnslaw*

6.4 Conclusion

Nature and Culture

These objections to the operation of steam vessels highlights the contested definitions of heritage. The discharge of smoke raises the question of the relative status in relation to each other of natural and cultural heritage. As is shown in Chapter 3 the requirement to consider ‘historic heritage’ in decisions made under the Resource Management Act 1991 is a recent addition. The western creation of two separate heritages, natural and cultural, which are portrayed as two distinct entities becomes blurred but does not dissolve in the discussion of maritime heritage as most maritime interactions occur within the context of a large and complex planetary system, the sea. Examinations of this dualism such as Lowenthal (2005) are in the main terrestrially focussed. The exception to this trend is Olwig’s (2005) examination of spatial differences in the conception of heritage in Europe, his study considers the values

attached to the Wadden Sea as natural heritage in contrast to the focus on cultural heritage in southern Europe.

In Aotearoa/ New Zealand there is a sharp division between nature and culture, in management of the countries resources. In the Regional Coastal Environment Plan for the Canterbury Region (Environment Canterbury, 2005) there is a distinction between the coast as a whole where ‘natural character’ is to be preserved. Ports are referred to in this plan as areas where natural character is compromised and activities deemed unsuitable for the rest of the coastal environment such as long term habitation are acceptable. This plan advocates the concentration of activities and structures which conflict with the natural character of the coast into areas already used. This planning ethos places pressure on cultural heritage in addition to the pressures placed by landform which are discussed earlier in this chapter. This plan identifies several heritage sites within Lyttelton Harbour, these are all sites outside of the port area and are sites which have been used for commercial, governmental and military purposes in the past, but which are now either farmland or areas set aside as reserves. It will be interesting to observe if any change is made to the sites recognised as heritage by Environment Canterbury in the light of the addition of ‘historic heritage’ as a matter of national importance in the Resource Management Act (1991).

This chapter examined the role of conflict in maritime heritage; both the exotic expressions of heritage through visitor attractions and port open days, and the more mundane, everyday relationship between a working port and the community which surrounds it. The role of landform and location at the periphery both socially and physically on maritime heritage has been investigated. These factors are found to be crucial influences in the development of the port. This study relates of several aspects of the research undertaken for this thesis in Lyttelton to broader themes in the literature and examples of similar and contrasting outcomes in other places in both New Zealand and overseas.

Conflict resulting from the use of technology which, because of its obsolescence is viewed as heritage was examined using case studies of steam powered vessels in Auckland and Queenstown to show the influence location can have on the operation of heritage.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

To conclude this thesis on the nature of maritime heritage and its existence within the context of Aotearoa/ New Zealand this chapter returns naturally to Chapter 4 and the discussion of the place of the researcher within their area of study and their associated research processes.

An empty barrel full of heritage: an exploration of an artefact

This piece of the HMS *Ganges* (figure 7.1) was part of my Grandfather's estate. The attached plaque attributes the object to a nineteenth century warship of the Royal Navy, however neither the purpose, the original location nor the timber the barrel is made from, are stated. The purpose for which the barrel was sold is unclear, however research suggests that the barrel was intended for storing matches- a function made obsolete by the introduction of safety matches which require a specific striker.



Figure 7.1: A 'Breakers' Barrel' made from timber from HMS *Ganges* (Photo: F J Teal)

The date, occasion and reason behind the barrel's acquisition by my Grandfather are unknown, as too is the use to which he put it. It was given to me because the family members who were dispersing his estate felt that as I had an interest in boats and the sea, I might like it. Because I value the barrel it can be seen as part of a heritage.

This artefact and the stories which surround it are indicative of many the aspects of heritage which I have examined in this thesis. As a piece of timber this barrel has a place in countless stories, some of which are known and many of which are unknown. As a piece of a warship of the Royal Navy it has links to the stories of HMS *Ganges*, which among other roles was used as a training establishment for boy entrants into the Royal Navy. This particular ship was later removed from this role, but her name was retained by the successor shore establishment. Research could be undertaken to reveal more about the HMS *Ganges*, her construction in Bombay, her service, those who broke her up, the use of her timbers to create what we would call souvenirs. Information could be found on the use and value of this specific item and similar types of objects produced over time.

The heritage value of this item to me now is the fact that it was owned by my Grandfather. He knew the origin of the barrel, back to the time and place it came into his possession, but these stories were never shared and are therefore now unrecoverable.

7.2 Synthesis

The consideration of heritage, as this thesis has shown, requires the examination of the past and how it is interpreted in, and for, the purposes of the present. Section 7.1 departed from the usual conventions of a conclusion and considered new material. This was done deliberately to highlight some of the key features of heritage in microcosm. These are now brought together to draw more specific conclusions and recommend areas of further research. To draw the strands of this research together the aims set out in Chapter 1 are now revisited in this chapter, the more specific supplementary focussing questions are addressed in this section with the broader central guiding question examined in Section 7.4.

The relationship between heritage as a global phenomenon and maritime heritage in Aotearoa/ New Zealand is complex. Parts of the broad literature are highly applicable. There is no question that the claiming of heritage value is an assertion of ownership. However the exclusivity of that relationship (Lowenthal, 1998) and its definition in

the maritime context through the creation of two clear groups, those to whom a particular heritage belongs, and those to whom it does not, is less applicable.

This mobility of maritime heritage (discussed in Chapter 5) leads to the formation of a pluralist heritage where places visited and vessels which visit places are shared in common, each person who remembers has a story to tell. Memory thus has more of a role to play in maritime heritage for the heritage recalled is the result of interactions between people, artefacts and sites which occurred in the past. Since that interaction took place often either the person or the objects has moved.

Analysis of the presentation and interpretation of maritime heritage has shown heritage to be a flexible concept. Not only physically in relation to the mobility of artefacts, but also conceptually in the interpretations of what maritime heritage is, what it encompasses, and what it excludes. The inclusion and exclusion of artefacts and sites is complex as it is based on the perception of the linkages between stories of the past and places. This thesis examined this aspect of the interpretation of the past as heritage in relation to the TSS *Earnslaw* on Lake Wakatipu and the choices made about the displays at the New Zealand National Maritime Museum. The examination of these revealed a common core of maritime heritage revolving around the movement of people and cargo by sea. Other interactions of bodies of water were linked to maritime heritage by shared parts of their stories. The TSS *Earnslaw* can be read as part of maritime heritage through the technology used, and the role she fulfilled in that particular area, however her inland location means she is also read as part of a local, inland, story.

Flexibility of recognition is also present in the degree of consciousness of maritime activity, both past and present, in the communities which surround physical artefacts. Maritime heritage often occupies a place on the edge of society, and is often only engaged with by those with a long term interest in an often quite specific, aspect of it. However there are occasions, usually relating to the commemoration of the settlement of Aotearoa/ New Zealand, when there is significantly more attention given to the nation's maritime past.

The investigation of the management of sites and artefacts viewed as maritime heritage revealed a contested landscape. The conflict which can exist when the past is used for the purposes of the present is a central theme of the literature of heritage. The specifically maritime examination in Chapter 6 reveals that the dependence on landform and bathymetry which restricts port operations causes suitable sites to be redeveloped to meet changing commercial needs. Where heritage values have been attached to that site, either formally through listing with the New Zealand Historic Places Trust or in a Plan prepared under the Resource Management Act 1991, or informally through community sentiment relating to that site or artefact there is potential for conflict when changes are proposed. The reactionary nature of heritage is well documented in international literature. Heritage is a term usually only applied once a practise, site or artefact is seen to be at risk.

In other settings, infrastructural buildings such as railway stations and post offices which have been made redundant by changes in policy and technology are often able to be preserved as the systems of which they were a part have moved away from them, leaving them in place. Parallels can be loosely drawn between the preservation of buildings in this manner with the preservation of vessels by removing them to another location where space and funding are available. However the applicability of this comparison is limited as the decision to preserve a building is usually based on the part played by that building in local stories. In the maritime environment the spatial constraints referred to throughout this thesis often lead to the redevelopment of the sites and structures made redundant by changing practices. This reduces the ability for those who see the former use as part of their heritage to act to preserve it. This process is illustrated in Chapter 6 with the discussion of access to the Inner Harbour at Lyttelton where the reduction of community access has led to conflict and mistrust. This thesis has shown that the conflict between the operators of the port and the community which surrounds it has wider effects in the relationship between port and town.

7.3 Areas for future research

This section identifies a number of key areas of research which arose out of the findings of the findings presented here. They are deliberately framed in general terms

in order to make them accessible to a wider audience seeking topics to investigate. Although this author strongly advocates further research on maritime topics these themes of research could be examined using case studies from a wide variety of settings.

The author of this thesis believes that there is a lack of understanding of the processes by which heritage (both created by people and that which is perceived to be natural heritage) is created and identified. This impacts on the ways in which heritage is perceived in society and on the requirements and direction set by central government. Which in turn inhibits local government, and in the New Zealand context, the Department of Conservation and the Historic Places Trust, in their selection of physical aspects of the past and the environment to be protected. This thesis examined the relationship of maritime heritage to the legislative and management structures in places however there is a paucity of more general knowledge about the formation and application of the concept of heritage in Aotearoa/ New Zealand. This needs to be addressed by a substantial programme of research. Future analytical qualitative studies such as that undertaken in this thesis need to be supported by quantitative research which gauges the breadth of the topic. An example of the type of problem in which quantitative research would be beneficial to the understanding of the concept of heritage in Aotearoa/ New Zealand is in the investigation of the relationship between risk of destruction and the claiming of heritage value. The Register of the New Zealand Historic Places Trust and the schedules of heritage buildings in City and District Plans would be a useful source through which to analyse the situation of buildings at the time at which heritage values were claimed for them by listing.

In conceptualising maritime heritage this thesis has drawn on two literatures, one which examines buildings and sites as heritage, and one which examines objects as artefacts, which are also valued. There is much more work to be carried out to bridge the gap between the examination of buildings as empty shells set in a landscape and the consideration of their contents, either *in situ* or preserved in a different context in a museum, as one cohesive heritage.

The concept of mobility is one in which geographic approaches have an immense amount to contribute to the deepening of understanding about the nature of heritage. The identification of the mobility of heritage as a key theme in this thesis and the

paucity of the engagement of the literature of heritage with this topic indicate that this area could support a large programme of research. Broader themes relating to the perception of forms of transport as heritage could be investigated based on the analysis of maritime heritage begun here. The assertion that the attraction of, and engagement with, all forms of preserved transport is at its greatest when that transport is used (The Transport Trust, nd) needs further investigation. The examination of the mobility of transport heritage relates to a constant, or at least regular mobility, as opposed to a single relocation of a structure to avoid its demolition.

It is evident in the figures used throughout this thesis that this research has focussed on artefacts and places. There is considerable scope for complementary research on the interaction of people, both as individuals and groups, to heritage. A focus on the heritage which people identify and interact with in their local environment would bridge the gap in the literature between the study of tourist behaviour and the study of visitors to museums and other formal visitor attractions which operate using the rhetoric of heritage to interpret the past. Studies of this nature would need to be cognisant of the multiple interpretations and consumption of heritage. In defining the scope of this research in Chapter 4 the importance of the cultural context of heritage was acknowledged. A comparative study of the interactions of men, women, teenagers and children with the heritage they identify in their community could build on the analysis of young people's interaction with heritage (Roker & Richardson, 2003). Their study shows a duality between the heritage they are presented with in an educational setting and the heritage they independently seek out and identify as their own. Investigation of the relationship of the taonga through which Maori and Pakeha interpret the pre-European, contact period, and modern relationships between Maori and te moana, the sea is also an area in which research is vital in order to advance the understanding of what is termed in this thesis the maritime environment of Aotearoa/ New Zealand.

7.4 Conclusion

This thesis has examined heritage as a way of approaching the past. The analysis of international literature on heritage in the context of specifically maritime case studies in Aotearoa/ New Zealand has reinforced the assertion that heritage interprets the past

for the purposes of the present. The personal reflection which introduced this chapter highlighted the centrality of perception and interpretation to the concept of heritage.

The basis of heritage as a value based interaction with the past, leads to the inherent presence of conflict in the interpretation and management of heritage. The study of this conflict and the diverse views which lead to it is one of the key themes of the international literature on heritage. This thesis has examined both broad discussions and specific case studies and related them each others within the physical and cultural landscape of Aotearoa/ New Zealand.

The other major theme which emerged from this investigation was the mobility of maritime heritage. This area of research as been poorly considered in the literature of heritage as analysis of heritage in the landscape has regarded heritage as spatially static. Analysis of objects which have been moved focuses on their interpretation in relation to their use prior to them becoming regarded as artefacts. This thesis has examined the mobility of artefacts and the linkages which exist between an artefact and both the communities it had been associated with in the past and those established by its new location.

The investigation of these themes of conflict and mobility has revealed a great deal about the nature of maritime heritage in this country. Finally to return to the key question which has guided this thesis. It is clear that the research undertaken here indicates that maritime heritage is a complex web of relationships through which people and groups relate to the maritime environment in Aotearoa/ New Zealand and interpret its past for the purposes of the present.

Glossary

Bark or Barque	A sailing vessel with three masts which is square rigged (sails suspended from yards running across the vessel) on the fore and main masts, with fore-and-aft rigged (sails attached to the mast which run lengthways on the vessel) on the mizzen (rear) mast.
Breakwater	A structure built to remove the effect of wave action on an area of water. These are usually placed to shelter moored vessels.
Bunkering	The loading of a ship's bunkers with fuel
Davits	Fittings, usually large rotating brackets, on a vessels side to facilitate the lowering and raising of a ship's boats.
Fo'c'sle	Contraction of fore castle, an area traditionally used for crew accommodation under the foredeck of a ship.
Laid up	A vessel is said to be laid up when it is moored for a long time (months or years) with little or no usage.
LPC	Lyttelton Port Company, the company also uses 'Lyttelton Port of Christchurch' as a brand name (see chapter 5 for discussion)
Maritime New Zealand (formerly the Maritime Safety Authority/ MSA)	The government department responsible for commercial shipping and water safety more generally (http://www.maritimenz.govt.nz/).
Merchant Service/ Merchant Navy/ Merchant Marine	A term used to refer to ships and their crews engaged in commercial trade. Its use is often historical and is used particularly to refer to ships crewed by civilians as opposed to naval personnel in both world wars.
MV	Motor Vessel
Nautical	Defined in the <u>New Zealand Oxford Dictionary</u> (2004) as a synonym for maritime, however popular usage generally gives the term a narrower meaning relating to ships and shipping.

Navigable	A body, or that part of a body of water, including lakes and rivers on which boats can operate. The type of boat referred to is usually implied by the context, but in general the term excludes white water accessible only in a kayak or raft.
NZNMM	New Zealand National Maritime Museum, located on Hobson Wharf in central Auckland
Pile moorings	Piles set into the seabed to be used to secure vessels, which lie afloat. This type of mooring is usually used by large recreational craft. Pile moorings are used to moor a number of vessels in a small space as there are no walkways separating each vessel. Access to vessels moored in this way is by dinghy.
Providore/ Provedore	A company which sources and supplies food and goods for ships while they are in a port.
ST	Steam Tug
Steaming/ steamed/ raise steam	The heating of a steamship's boilers to produce steam to operate the vessel's machinery or engines
Stern	The after or rear portion of a vessel.
Stem	The main timber in the bow, or front, of a vessel. It curves up from the keel and provides the leading edge which cuts through the water.
STS	Sail Training Ship
Survey	Technically the inspection carried out by a marine surveyor to ensure the structural integrity and safety of a vessel. In general usage the term refers to the satisfaction of all legal requirements for a commercial vessel to operate, usually now contained within the Safe Ships Management System administered and enforced by Maritime New Zealand (Maritime New Zealand, 2005).
TSS	Twin Screw (Propeller) Steamer/ Steam Ship
TST	Twin Screw (Steam) Tug
Yacht	A small sailing vessel usually operated as a recreational vessel

Appendix 1

In addition to the formal case–studies undertaken of the New Zealand National Maritime Museum, Lyttelton, and the TSS *Earnslaw* I have visited the following maritime related places and institutions in the recent past and observed their operation in a less structured way:

Wellington

Picton, including the *Edwin Fox*

Gisborne

Auckland including Viaduct Basin, Devonport and Half Moon Bay

Hauraki Gulf including Kawau and Motutapu Islands

Dunedin, Upper harbour and Maritime Hall at Otago Museum

Akaroa

Timaru

Oamaru

Hokitika

Ashburton River Mouth

STS *Spirit of New Zealand*

International Congress of Maritime Museums Triennial Conference

Lake Mahinapua

Lake Pukaki

Lake Tekapo

Lake Wakatipu

Lake Dunstan

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